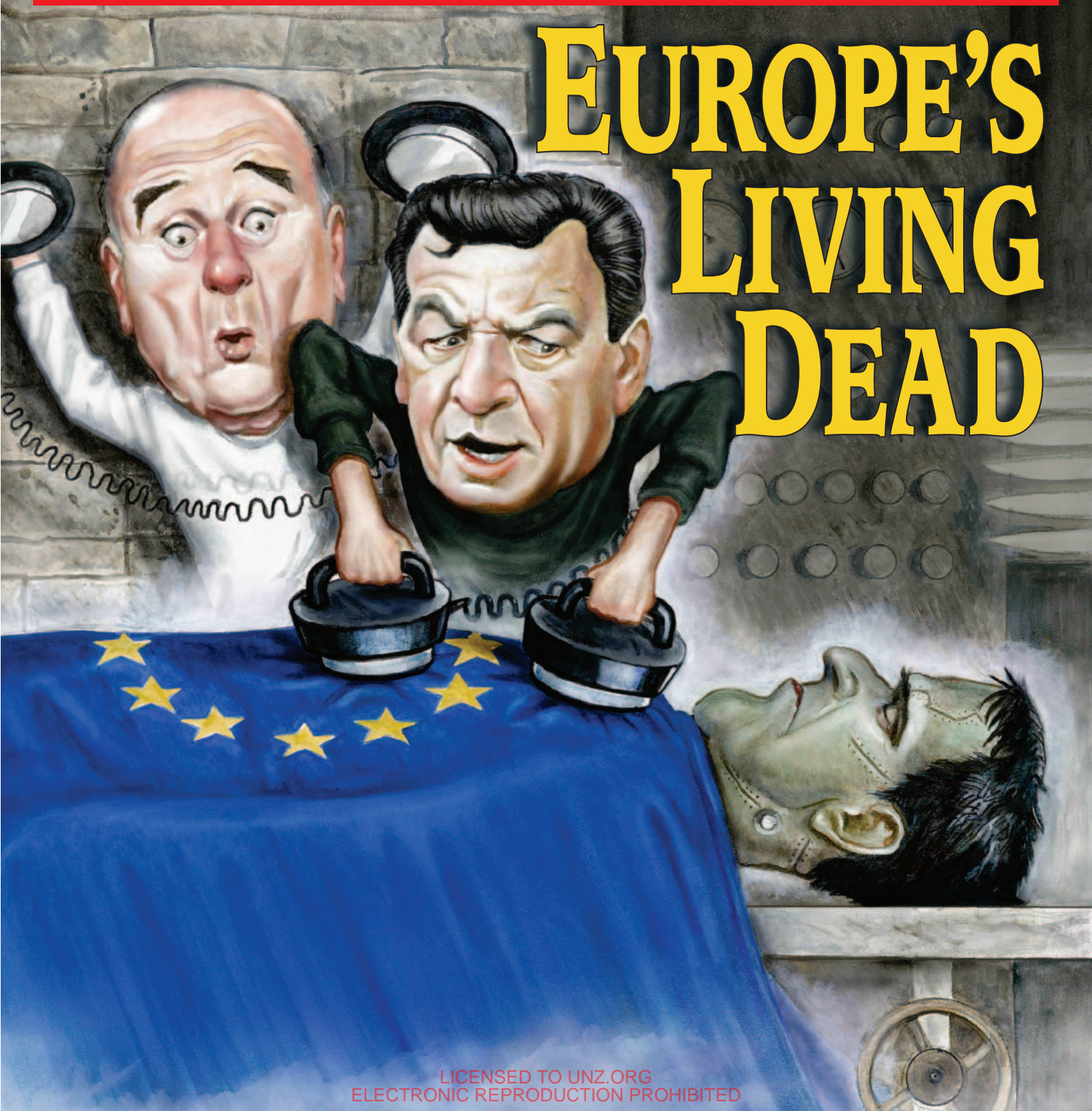


CHINA'S NUKES, YOUR TAXES ■ WHAT MAKES SUICIDE BOMBERS TICK

JULY 18, 2005

# The American Conservative

## EUROPE'S LIVING DEAD



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## SCHWARTZ SETS US STRAIGHT

As demonstrated by his latest chaotic and apparently improvised effusion “Mussolini in the Mideast” (July 4), Paul Gottfried imagines himself a weighty theorist of politics and contemporary history but is a bluffer who cannot be expected to get even the most basic facts right. Aside from his display of the usual gross errors of historical analysis and vagrant libels, which it would be beneath my dignity to address, Gottfried states of me—misspelling my name—“Schwarz [sic] ... tried to publicize his take on ‘the West and fascism’ as a newswriter for Voice of America and as a frequent speaker at the Heritage Foundation and American Enterprise Institute.”

My work at the Voice of America had nothing, ever, to do with the issue of Islamofascism. I have never once been invited to address, or addressed, any meeting of either the Heritage Foundation or the American Enterprise Institute.

STEPHEN SCHWARTZ  
*Washington, D.C.*

### **The editors respond:**

We are grateful to Mr. Schwartz for setting us straight about his activities, or lack thereof, with the Heritage Foundation and American Enterprise Institute—and we are mortified to learn we misspelled his name.

That Schwartz’s work at VOA “had nothing, ever, to do with Islamofascism” comes as a surprise and a relief. We are relieved that VOA had the professionalism to keep Schwartz’s preoccupation with Islamofascism off-air at a time when he had just written, and was soon to publish, *The Two Faces of Islam*, a screed on that very topic. “Islamofascism,” Schwartz has said, “is at the center of my book.”

We are surprised that Schwartz did not use the opportunity to promote his beliefs on this important subject. Cer-

tainly William Safire and Ronald Radosh, who wrote in defense of Schwartz after he was fired from VOA, seemed to think his views on political Islam had something to do with it. “His superiors berated him for taking part in a VOA online talk program on the funding of terrorist funding of Islamic charities,” wrote Radosh, adding, “Evidently, to the people who now run the VOA, toadying to the Saudis is more important than allowing the network to air anything which reveals the role played ... by the Saudi government in sponsoring terrorism...” To us, that subject matter sounds like what Schwartz would call Islamofascism.

## PENTHOUSE EVICTION

Gil Reavill’s biography at the end of his piece (July 4) says that he has a cultural column in *Penthouse*. Last I flipped through *Penthouse*, about 40 years ago, there was nothing cultural about it. And I’m not about to buy a copy to see what Mr. Reavill means by “cultural.” (Surely the title, *Penthouse*, still connotes the same meaning as it did then.) Might I suggest, in the spirit of candor, that if Mr. Reavill believes, as most of us do, that the commons are polluted, that he lose the “sex-industry insider” label by writing for another, more respectable rag? He’s obviously a good writer, and his new book on the subject of smut will surely give him a leg up—not to mention that he’s now a concerned father.

HARRY WILLIAMS  
*Washington, D.C.*

## NOT SO GOOD WAR

With almost a cringe, the editors (June 6) and Andrew Bacevich (June 20) exhort us to accept World War II as necessary, notwithstanding Taki’s cogent case to the contrary (June 6). Bacevich, though, gets to the nub of it: not knuckling under to the conventional wisdom about the war might cost the paleo-right some rhetorical credibility.

Alas, we wouldn’t be much of a paleo-right were we to knuckle under to too much conventional wisdom. How can we credibly stand against “humanitarian intervention x” and for national sovereignty while accepting World War II as a “necessary” humanitarian intervention? Had the West stayed out of the war, Nazism and Communism would likely have chewed each other up.

DINO DRUDI  
*via e-mail*

## TWO MORE REASONS

Scott McConnell’s “How They Get Away With It” (July 4) is a most insightful article on the failure of Americans to generate a politically significant antiwar movement. To Mr. McConnell’s list of reasons, I would like to add two more.

The Catholic Church, which has all but called Iraq an unjust war, doesn’t forcefully speak out against it. The Church is filled with weak men who can’t brace themselves to preach about sin, hell, or Catholic doctrine on sexual morals. On top of that is the clerical homosexual sex scandal and subsequent cover-up. The bishops know their credibility has been severely damaged and this, coupled with their general lack of backbone, has resulted in silence.

Second is the nature of weapons of mass destruction. Yes, they’re highly destructive. But they’re also small and can be easily concealed. This is why, when critics of President Bush harp that there were no WMD found in Iraq, much of the public shrugs and says to itself, “It’s better to be safe than sorry.”

PETER SKURKISS  
*Stow, Ohio*

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[WAR]

## TAXICAB COMMANDOS

One of our discrete office pleasures is a bound volume of the 1970 *National Review*, given to us as a gift by Bob Newman, the man who designed *TAC* for Garcia Media. Looking through it is always a fun foray into nostalgia, a reminder of what American politics were like when we were young—or not yet born—a way to remember that *NR* used to be independent of the GOP and not its lapdog.

One issue has a cover titled “Vietnamization,” which consists entirely of a black-and-white photograph of a South Vietnamese soldier; within is a series of several more photos of a South Vietnamese unit on patrol, all taken by William F. Buckley on a sojourn in South Vietnam. It’s a bit of a filler piece, and Buckley’s wide-ranging talents do not obviously extend to the visual arts. But in the sparing prose of some of the captions—“Vietmanization—For Americans, the word has comforting sound—it means Them fighting, instead of Us”—and in the childlike descriptors—“Just before the strike, the company commander and the American advisors check the map”—there seems a kind of hidden message, a way of letting the magazine’s readers know that the South Vietnamese would probably not the win war and that America would somehow survive that fact. There was no false “we’re on the verge of victory” prattle about the exercise.

These reminders of another war, another place, another time, and another Third World army to do a job Americans don’t want to do are pertinent in light of the powerfully reported stories in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* on “Iraqization.” Even for those who recall the disdain American troops felt for their South Vietnamese allies, what they say about the Iraqis makes ARVN seem like the British



Royal Marines by comparison. The Iraqi units upon which Bush is now basing his strategy are like “pre-schoolers with guns” American platoon leader Rick McGovern told the *Post*. Asked when Iraqi units might be able to operate independently of the Americans, McGovern says, “Honestly, there’s a part of me that says never.”

A *Times* story goes on to tell a tale of Iraqi units changing into civilian clothes and hailing taxis at the first sign of encountering insurgents. Other units fall asleep. None can be trusted not to pass information to the enemy.

Reading the real reporting from the war, it’s hard to avoid the conclusion that the Iraqi units will survive no longer than the South Vietnamese. It’s a grim reality that Americans need to begin facing up to.

[NEOCONS]

## ATTACK OF THE POD PEOPLE

On *National Review*’s blog, John Podhoretz, scion of neoconservatism’s second family, has set himself up as hall monitor, and his first order of business is telling John Derbyshire—by far the most interesting contributor to *The Corner*—what to think and say.

In May, Pod the Lesser rebuked Derbyshire for speaking well of a Pat Buchanan column: “Beware praising those who have placed themselves outside the bounds of civil discourse. Really.” But Derbyshire remained incorrigible, and soon he was writing about the American public’s “Iraq fatigue” and pointing out the administration’s failure to keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of Kim Jong-Il and the Iranians. No, no, no—“What magazine’s website is this again?” Poddy asked, telling Derbyshire “you really ought to have voted for Kerry.” In reply to Derbyshire’s thoughtful remarks about the slim prospects of liberal democracy taking hold in Iraq, Podhoretz demonstrated just what level of discourse he brings to *The Corner*—“I’d like to offer a 10 paragraph response, but sometimes the only proper answer is: Duh-heh.” There speaks a mighty intellect.

William F. Buckley should be careful. He’s already said, “if I had known back then in February 2003 what we know now I would not have counseled war against Iraq.” Much more of that and he may find himself the next victim of John Podhoretz’s laser-sharp wit.

[IMMIGRATION]

## MEXICO'S GUEST WORKERS

Paging President Bush and Presidente Fox: we have finally found the jobs that Mexicans won't do—in Mexico.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reports that several Mexican states are forced to import Indians from further south in the country to pick spicy red chili peppers and perform other tasks. Why? Because their homegrown labor has crossed the Rio Grande as part of the flow of one million illegal immigrants into the United States per year. In the north-central state of Zacatecas, one out of every two citizens is believed to have relocated to the U.S. "Our workforce has left," says Tomas Torres, the state's general secretary. Others note that the Indians replacing the traditional workers are often unable to speak Spanish and sometimes end up begging in the streets.

The extent of the economic dislocation caused by the U.S.-Mexican population shift should certainly be a lesson to those who counsel that uncontrolled immigration is a boon to both countries.

[CULTURE]

## SLAVES TO PC

Sorry isn't just the hardest word. Wachovia, the nation's fourth-largest bank, is learning that it's also the most expensive.

In 2002, Chicago passed a law requiring any company bidding for city business to disclose any previous ties to the slave trade. (Los Angeles, Detroit, and Philadelphia have passed similar ordinances.) Wachovia, as part of a partnership to build low-income housing, was expected to come clean. Only the banking giant didn't know its own sordid history. Apparently, the South Carolina National Corp., which Wachovia acquired in 1991, and First Union, with which it merged in 2001, had previously taken slaves as loan collateral. When the matter came to light, CEO Ken Thomp-

son said, "I apologize to all Americans, especially African Americans and people of African descent."

Seems that's not good enough. Now comes word that, since Wachovia has accepted blame for something it didn't do, it's going to have to compensate those it never harmed. When issuing its apology, the bank promised an undetermined financial contribution, perhaps to an educational fund, to soothe the manufactured outrage. But it's reported that civil suits are being prepared anyway. Harvard Law professor Charles Ogletree told the *Washington Times* that Wachovia must "provide comfort to the descendants of slaves" or the issue "will haunt them for a long time." And just because Wachovia's stockholders, customers, and employees—none of whom ever held slaves—buy off those who never were, don't expect the haunting to stop. Just the opposite.

[SECURITY]

## FROM THE SECRET FILES OF TSA

Going against its stated policy and congressional instructions, the Transportation Safety Administration is collecting airline-passenger information from commercial data brokers. "They're doing what they want and working around any rules that exist," one security specialist involved in the program's oversight board told the Associated Press. TSA's top privacy officer, Nuala O'Connor Kelly, says she's investigating the matter.

At issue is a TSA program called Secure Flight, successor to the controversial CAPPS II passenger-profiling initiative that was scrapped last year. CAPPS II faced criticism for failing to inform Americans that they were being profiled—the 1974 Privacy Act forbids agencies from keeping secret databases—and for not adequately protecting the data. The TSA seems not to have learned its lesson. ■

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# Is Failure Now an Option?

In “Thirteen Days,” the Kevin Costner film about the Cuban Missile Crisis, Gen. Curtis LeMay grimly tells JFK, when word arrives that the missiles are going

operational, “Mr. President, you’ve got a problem.” JFK replies, “No, general. We have a problem.” And so we do.

As readers of this magazine know, *TAC* was started in 2002 to give voice to a more traditional American conservatism as opposed to what we believed was the corrupted Beltway version. To no issue was more space devoted than our opposition to war on Iraq.

Should we go to war, we warned, we will occupy Baghdad, but we will have inherited our own Lebanon, our own West Bank. We will earn the hatred of Arabs for attacking an Arab nation that did not attack us, did not threaten us, and did not want war with us. From Morocco to Malaysia, imams will preach *jihad* against the United States.

We did not need a Downing Street memorandum to discern who was behind this war and had plotted it long before Sept. 11. In our cover story in early 2003, “Whose War?”, we named names and laid it all out, chapter and verse. And because we spoke the truth about the neocons’ war, *National Review*, in a cover story, branded three of our senior editors and four of our contributors “Unpatriotic Conservatives” who hate America.

Two years have now elapsed since the War Party had its way. And everything we warned against has happened; everything we predicted has come to pass. But the question now is not whether one opposed the war before March 2003, but

where we go from here. How does the United States avoid what appears to be the real possibility of a defeat in Iraq and a disaster for this nation?

Senators Biden and Hagel say “we are losing” the war. That is inexact.

What is happening is that we are not winning. The policy is not working. The war is not winding down as it was in Vietnam from 1969 to 1973, when U.S. casualties fell to zero, all U.S. troops came out, and the POWs came home.

While U.S. forces prevail in every battle, the “metrics,” as Donald Rumsfeld memorably called them, all point in the wrong direction. U.S. casualties are back where they were in the bloody months before the election. Enemy attacks grow in sophistication and lethality. Casualties among Iraqi police and army are at the highest levels of the war. Support for the war in the United States is crumbling. Half the nation now believes it was a mistake and half thinks it time to start bringing the troops home.

The American people appear to believe that whether Iraq is or is not democratic is not worth 1,700 dead, 10,000 wounded, \$200 billion gone, and the prospect of interminable losses of blood and treasure. Americans are willing to pay a price to give Iraqis a chance to build a free society but believe that, ultimately, the Iraqis themselves are going to have to fight for that future if they wish to keep it.

What the American people do not realize—because President Bush has not told them—is the price of American failure in Iraq.

If America loses this war, her position in the Persian Gulf will be imperiled. Anti-American Arabs and Muslims will have inflicted a defeat on the world’s last superpower more dramatic than the one Afghan rebels inflicted on the Soviet Union that brought that empire down. Every U.S. friend in the region will be at risk. Iraq would probably collapse in civil war, with Shi’ites and Kurds fighting to retain the independence they have.

The impact on oil prices would be devastating. Every ally of this country would have to question the value of that alliance. George W. Bush would be marked down by history as a failed president and his democracy crusade written off as childish Wilsonianism.

Our politics would be as poisoned as during the McCarthy era and the Vietnam days of LBJ and Nixon. Republicans would be attacked for having dragged us into war on the basis of lies, while those who argued for early withdrawal would be blamed for having undercut the troops and caused defeat.

Before March 2003, the fact that Iraq was a dictatorship did not matter to us. But after our investment in blood and money, if Iraq reverts to an anti-American dictatorship, it will mean an historic defeat for this nation and a disaster for George W. Bush. That was the risk he took, for himself and for us, when he listened to the sirens’ calls of the neocons who will soon be making their way back to their think tanks and looking for a new horse to ride. ■

[brussels builds a monster]

# Europe's Living Dead

Resurrecting the EU Constitution could mean socialism for the continent.

By Peter Hitchens

LONDON—You might have thought that creating a constitution without a country was like building the roof first and the walls afterwards. But that is the way the architects of the New Europe like to proceed, and surprisingly often, it almost works. For various reasons, the political elites of this messy, fractious continent have been so anxious to construct their Union that they have ignored the way their strange structure creaks and shudders in the slightest wind, muttering, “It may be a mess, it may be costly, but it’s worth it.”

We will return to why they think it is worth it (they are wrong), but first let us sum up the state of things in Old Europe 65 years after the tragic fall of France and 190 years since the far from tragic Battle of Waterloo, in which Britain managed once again to frustrate European unity.

The planned Constitution was dealt a terrible blow by the voters of France and the Netherlands, who surprised and angered their rulers by decisively rejecting it in twin referendums. They were not supposed to do this. Referendums in Europe are quite unlike the proposition votes in the U.S., where the people tell the government what to do. Here they are designed, timed, and worded by governments in the hope that the people will endorse what their rulers want. This is why they are banned in modern Germany. Adolf Hitler made frequent use of

plebiscites to confirm his actions, and the device is still viewed with suspicion by many thoughtful Germans. The problem with this is that, since their political, academic, and media elites are wholly committed to the European idea, German voters have never had any way of expressing their strong doubts about the abolition of their currency and their sovereignty.

So, in a way, the French and Dutch have knowingly broken the rules because they have no other way to speak about what deeply concerns them. Their rejection is important precisely because it is a true reflection of a real misgiving. When this has happened in smaller, more easily frightened nations—the Irish Republic and Denmark—they have simply been told to go and do it again until they come up with the right answer, which they eventually do. But France and the Netherlands are founder members of the European Union, who have done well out of it and are simply not supposed to behave in this way. And both are stiff-necked, proud peoples who, if told to vote again, will simply produce an even louder “no” than before. Technically, the constitution ought to be dead. Technically, these rejections cannot be overcome. But if you believe that the juggernaut of European supranationalism can be halted by a little democratic resistance, you will believe anything.

The EU is determined to turn itself into a new type of state, never before seen on the planet, and its leaders believe it can wriggle round this problem given time and will. France’s President Jacques Chirac and Germany’s Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, both widely despised at home and almost certainly doomed as leaders of their countries, are frantically trying to revive the limp cadaver of the Constitution. Their main argument is that the voters of France and Holland did not really know what they were doing or intend to produce this result. It is said that they were showing how much they loathed Jacques Chirac (which they were), or how sick they are of the growth of intolerant Islam in their midst (which they are), or how discontented they are with the levels of unemployment (which they are).

The one thing that would certainly kill it without hope of resurrection would be a third “no” from the voters of Britain. A vote was promised by Tony Blair before the last general election. Were it to be held, it would, without doubt, produce the most resounding rejection of all. Since they were tricked into joining the EU in a shamelessly rigged and dishonest referendum in 1975, most of the British have longed for a chance to show their resentment against a project that has brought them no good and a great deal of harm. However, it now seems to have been cancelled.

Blair is always promising referendums on European matters to prevent them from becoming election issues. In theory, he is for the European Union and the opposition Conservatives are more or less against it. In theory, that should be a serious electoral disadvantage to him since the majority of British voters are hostile to the EU. So he cunningly ensures that it is never an issue at election time by pledging a plebiscite. But the promised referendums—one on abolishing sterling and joining the euro, the other on the Constitution—never happen, mainly because if they did, Blair would lose them. It is a very odd form of government.

Currently, we in Britain are being told that there is no point in voting on a Constitution that appears to be dead. That would be convincing if our European partners would only admit that it is dead. But they pointedly do not. The president of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, astonished Britain's most famously aggressive TV interviewer, Jeremy Paxman, by refusing to pronounce the last rites after the double

Cohn-Bendit, once the famous "Danny the Red" who raged on the Paris barricades in May 1968. Another is the German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, a violent street fighter from the same era, of whom photographs exist showing him wearing a helmet in the midst of a fearsome assault on a Frankfurt policeman. A former French premier—and supporter of the Constitution—Lionel Jospin belonged to a Trotskyist sect in the 1960s and denied his past allegiance until a former comrade provided indisputable proof. Blair's government is also stuffed with former Communists, Marxists, and Trotskyites of various brands, many of them simultaneously unrepentant and reticent about their pasts. It is always difficult to tell just how much of their Leninist baggage these people have dumped and how much of it is still in an attic somewhere, kept in case of need. But there are several interesting resemblances between the European ideal and the Marxist fantasy of a world without nations or patriotism, controlled by a vanguard elite.

**PRESIDENT CHIRAC AND CHANCELLOR SCHROEDER HAVE SEIZED THE OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH A NEW ATTACK ON BRITAIN, STRENGTHENING THE VIEW AMONG SOME BRITISH CONSERVATIVES THAT ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF THE EU IS TO DIMINISH AND ULTIMATELY DESTROY BRITAIN'S POWER AND INDEPENDENCE.**

"no" vote. An unbelieving Paxman—who like much of Britain's media elite has yet to grasp the insouciant arrogance of the EU—clearly could not credit what Barroso was saying when he insisted that it was not all over. Barroso, like many of the prominent figures in the new European elite, is a former Marxist (in his case, a Maoist).

Another prominent supporter of the Constitution, for example, is Daniel

There are other interesting parallels between the old USSR and the new EU. Both suffer from economic five-year plans, both are or were governed by an unaccountable and secretive cabinet—the Politburo in Moscow, the Council of Ministers in Brussels. Both are or were immensely, hopelessly corrupt—the EU's auditors have refused to sign the books for years. And both had or have a powerless assembly of well-rewarded

placemen, without any concept of opposition or accountability, as a fig leaf for their authoritarian natures.

Barroso, the chief bureaucrat of this strange organism, plainly takes the view, satirized by Bertolt Brecht after the East German riots of 1953, that the people have failed the state and it is therefore necessary to elect a new people—or at least to find a way of showing that the people did not really mean what they said. In the meantime, all proceeds as if nothing had happened.

Implementation has not stopped. On what is called a "special legal basis" the offices of a new president of Europe are being established; a new European diplomatic service is being created; a European Defense Agency is already in operation; a European Space Agency has held its first meetings. National vetoes on immigration policy, supposedly only abolished once the Constitution comes into force, have already been gotten rid of on the spurious grounds of urgency, always the standard excuse of the instinctively lawless. The European Charter of Fundamental Rights, supposedly brought into force by the Constitution, is already being applied to all EU legislation.

Meanwhile, far from being chastened by the experience, President Chirac and Chancellor Schroeder have seized the opportunity to launch a new attack on Britain, strengthening the view among some British conservatives that one of the purposes of the EU is to diminish and ultimately destroy Britain's power and independence, for the very understandable reason that Britain has since the 16th century frustrated every scheme for European continental unity, from Philip II of Spain to Hitler and Stalin.

The current quarrel is about Britain's enormous contribution to the European Union. As one of the richest and most successful countries, Britain has been



compelled to hand over nearly \$300 billion to Brussels in the last 20 years, and its current annual subscription is around \$15 billion. Many members pay nothing at all. Britain's heavy impost is partly the result of its relatively healthy economy, thriving precisely because it has so far avoided many of the EU's reforms, especially the single currency. Many others gain hugely in subsidies, especially France, whose inefficient farmers are the biggest winners from the grotesque Common Agricultural Policy. It has been calculated that this scheme is so expensive that it could pay to cover the entire European continent in good-quality carpet. This is why Margaret Thatcher demanded and got a rebate in 1984, without which Britain would pay even more.

Now, so that the EU can bribe its recently arrived East European members into compliance with their new masters, there are plans to increase the budget and reduce the British rebate. Blair has been told that resistance will be seen as anti-European at this delicate moment. For not only is the Constitution in trouble, but its twin project, the euro, is wobbling too. German politicians and bankers have had secret discussions about going back to the Deutsche mark because of the miserable effects of currency union on their economy. They always knew there would be a price to pay but did not think that it would involve the highest unemployment since the days of the Weimar Republic. Most observers expect that Blair will give way on the rebate, mainly because he is hopelessly outnumbered—Britain has no real friends in the EU—but also because he is ultimately anxious to please. He also knows that if he does not, the EU will find some way to punish him. The old national veto, which once protected the independence of all EU members, has now been abolished in so many different areas

that it is all too easy for a powerful group of members to gang up on another and force it into things it does not wish to do.

Americans, used to almost complete national sovereignty, ought to find it shocking that a country such as Britain, not long ago a global power in her own

### GERMAN POLITICIANS AND BANKERS HAVE HAD **SECRET DISCUSSIONS ABOUT GOING BACK TO THE DEUTSCHE MARK** BECAUSE OF THE **MISERABLE EFFECTS OF CURRENCY UNION** ON THEIR ECONOMY.

right, is now reduced to this position. Many in Britain, and increasingly in the rest of Europe, feel the same way. The EU was conceived in the shame and devastation that followed 1940. France decided that it could no longer fight German domination of the continent. Germany resolved that it would no longer seek that domination by military means. The other nations of the continent, almost all of them having either suffered rape or tyranny in the first half of the 20th century, saw good reasons to collaborate.

But the original architects of the project wanted to go much farther than mere collaboration. They sought to found the world's first multinational state not created by conquest. They were Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, and crucially the Italian Altiero Spinelli, who recognized that Hitler's defeat of the pre-war European powers had made this new thing possible. He wrote in 1941 from his prison island, "The collapse of the majority of the states of the continent under the German steamroller has already placed the destinies of the European populations on common ground: either all together they will submit to Hitler's dominion, or all together they will enter a revolutionary crisis after his fall."

His clarity is impressive—just what one might expect from a Communist militant, which he was until his death in 1986. He added, "The multiple problems which poison international life on the continent have proved to be insoluble: tracing boundaries through areas inhabited by mixed populations, defense of

minorities, seaports for landlocked countries, the Balkan question, the Irish problem, and so on. All matters which should find easy solutions in the European federation." He hoped there would be a European armed force, but each state would retain just enough sovereignty for national matters.

The program of European union was driven forward with much American encouragement and helped immensely by the success of Marshall Plan aid. The federalist activists continued, piece by piece, to draw power irrevocably from Europe's nation-states, to abolish their frontiers, to drain authority from their parliaments, to merge their legal systems slowly but inevitably under one law and one supreme court, to unify indirect taxation and harmonize business and employment laws. We all even have the same passports. It became associated, wrongly, with the prosperity created by Marshall aid and, even more outrageously, with the peace that resulted from NATO's effective deterrence of Soviet power. Before the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, this program was limited. As a result, it was popular—or at least not unpopular—in most of its core countries.

Only in Britain, the one major European nation that had not been subju-

gated or fallen into tyranny, were its demands on sovereignty and its attacks on liberty resented and disliked and increasingly seen for what they were.

This has all now changed. The attitude known as Euro-skepticism has suddenly spread far beyond Britain, as the referendums show. Germany has suffered greatly because of the botched reunification following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Though it bans plebiscites, voters in a solidly Social Democratic region have just humiliated the ruling Social Democrat party. This is a political avalanche, as if Chicago or Boston had gone Republican. West Germans resent the endless subsidies they pay to their Eastern compatriots. The Easterners, in turn, are far from grateful. Their jobs have vanished, and their devastated

murdered, the country's heart and mind underwent a sort of earthquake, perhaps the most fascinating mass political conversion of modern times. The Dutch doublethink has come to an end and has been replaced with a robust determination, even among liberals, to defend their way of life. It is at least consistent now.

The immigration issue is also very much alive in the other EU countries. Some fear being displaced by cheap, skilled labor from new EU members such as Poland, where wages are far lower than in the old core of the EU. Some are increasingly concerned by the rapid and visible growth of Islam, as huge new mosques arise amid the industrial cityscapes of Northern Europe and Muslim voters become an important constituency. Others are alarmed by the

the Union may have persuaded many Western Europeans that they have had enough of supranationalism. They begin to see, once again, the forgotten virtues of going to hell in your own handcart, of governing your own borders and being able to dismiss your own government when it fails you.

Some Americans yearn for a power to counterbalance the imperial-global presidency of George W. Bush. Other Americans love their union so much that they think its principles can be applied here too. They are mistaken in both hopes. European opposition to Bush was not principled defense of ancient ideas of sovereignty and just war but cynical pursuit of favors and contracts from oil states, combined with a nervousness about the growing numbers of Muslim voters. As for the Union, even 13 colonies from the same stock, sharing the same God and the same laws, and speaking the same language, mistrusted each other enough to place clear, gruff, unambiguous limits on federal power. In all the many pages of the EU Constitution, no such limits appear. Indeed, a centralized tyranny would easily be able to subvert this atrocious, prolix document. And, as we British can tell you, living under Europe's blue and yellow flag means an endless, insidious attack on the foundations of liberty we both share, based upon Magna Carta, *habeas corpus*, the presumption of innocence, jury trial, common law, and the first Bill of Rights (ours). Any superstate created on this basis would be a menace to its own people and, if it became militarily and diplomatically potent, to any free state within its range or influence.

Rejoice at the wounding of this plan. But do not yet assume that it is dead or buried. ■

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*Peter Hitchens is a columnist for the London Mail on Sunday. He is the author of The Abolition of Britain.*

## **IF EUROPE INCLUDES TURKEY, THEN WHAT DOES EUROPE—A CONTINENT ALWAYS DEFINED BY POLITICS RATHER THAN BY GEOGRAPHY—MEAN? TURKEY IS NOT CHRISTIAN. IT IS MUSLIM AND DAILY BECOMING MORE SO.**

cities are emptying of young people. They either yearn for the secure days of Communism—and vote for the party that used to imprison them—or flirt with sordid but alarmingly professional neo-Nazi movements.

France, whose lavish social safety net has begun to fray because it is simply too costly to maintain, and which likewise suffers from increasing unemployment, associates much of this with the arrival of the single currency.

The ludicrously permissive Netherlands is caught in a trap set for liberals. Its multicultural principles insist that it must welcome Muslim immigrants from North Africa. Its ultra-tolerance is affronted by the fierce intolerance of these Muslims for its relaxed way of life. When the anti-Muslim, flamboyantly homosexual politician Pim Fortuyn was

failure of the EU to control its borders and coasts, as economic migrants brave terrible journeys to flee North Africa.

Now that the Union stretches from the Irish coastline to the Russian frontier, and includes nations and peoples terribly impoverished by half a century of Communist rule, it has entirely lost the feeling of cozy prosperity that used to envelop it. The proposal, strenuously supported by Washington, to admit Turkey to the EU strikes many as simply wrong. If Europe includes Turkey, then what does Europe—a continent always defined by politics rather than by geography—mean? Turkey is not Christian. It is Muslim and daily becoming more so. It is stretching things quite a bit to say that it is a law-governed democracy. It may be in many ways an impressive country, but the proposal to bring it into

# Blacklisted Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

**Baltimore, MD**—As unbelievable as it seems, the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years. Yet it has been banned. Blocked. Kept out of your medicine cabinet by the very agency designed to protect your health—the FDA.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York hospital rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that “**shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!**” 90 minutes later they were gone. Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life-saving treatment worked miracles, but the FDA ignored the research and hope he brought and shut him down.

You read that right. He was not only shut down—but also forced out of the country where others benefited from his discovery. That was 39 years ago. How many other treatments have they been allowed to hide? Just as in the case of Dr. Burton’s miracle serum these too go unmentioned.

## Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Prize nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! “Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated.” Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don’t want you to read her words.

What’s more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their

secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

As early as 1947, Virginia Livingston, M.D. isolated a cancer-causing microbe. She noted that every cancer sample analyzed (whether human or other animal) contained it.

This microbe—a bacterium that is actually in each of us from birth to death—multiplies and promotes cancer when the immune system is weakened by disease, stress, or poor nutrition. Worst of all, the microbes secrete a special hormone protector that short-circuits our body’s immune system—allowing the microbes to grow undetected for years. No wonder so many patients are riddled with cancer by the time it is detected. But there is hope even for them ...

## Six-time Nobel Nominee’s Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough Revealed

Turn to page 82 of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* for the delicious diet that can help stop the formation of cancer cells and shrink tumors.

**They walked away from traditional cancer treatments...and were healed!** Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* you’ll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

“We purchased *How to Fight Cancer & Win*, and immediately my husband started following the recommended diet for his just diagnosed colon cancer. He refused the surgery that our doctors advised. Since following the regime recommended in the book he has had no problems at all, cancer-wise. If not cured, we believe the cancer has to be in remission.”

—Thelma B.

“I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I’ve ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today.”

—Hugh M.

“I can’t find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

“My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two.”

—Duncan M.

“In my 55 years as a country family physician, I have never read a more ‘down to earth,’ practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure.”

—Edward S., M.D.

“As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery.”

—Romany S.

“I’ve been incorporating Dr. Budwig’s natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I’ve never heard about before (and I’ve read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information.”

—Molly G.

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# Aid and Comfort

Chinese nuclear proliferation at American taxpayer expense

By Timothy P. Carney

AS THE WHITE HOUSE pressures Iran and North Korea to suspend their nuclear-weapons programs, the Bush administration is offering a record subsidy deal to the arm of the Chinese government that has equipped Iran and Pakistan with vital nuclear-weapons technology.

The China National Nuclear Corporation (CNNC) is the Chinese government agency in charge of both nuclear weapons and nuclear power. Westinghouse Electric, a partly American company, is one of three firms bidding to build the four new nuclear reactors CNNC plans to construct in two of China's eastern provinces. As an enticement to CNNC, the U.S. Export-Import Bank—a federal agency that subsidizes American exports—has offered \$5 billion in loans and loan guarantees to China, if they'll go with Westinghouse.

U.S. intelligence has repeatedly caught CNNC transferring or intending to transfer nuclear-weapons technology to Pakistan and Iran. Now Ex-Im is offering taxpayer money to subsidize that same Chinese agency.

In fact, taxpayers are already subsidizing CNNC. The Clinton administration approved Ex-Im loans so that the Chinese would employ Bechtel for reactors it built at the beginning of this decade.

Aside from the five major nuclear powers—the U.S., Russia, China, Britain, and France—India and Pakistan are the two countries that have detonated nuclear weapons. Pakistan can thank CNNC for its nuclear capability.

In early 1995, Capitol Hill and the White House were sent into a minor frenzy after a *Washington Times* article

by intelligence correspondent Bill Gertz reported CIA findings tying CNNC to Pakistan's infamous nuclear scientist A.Q. Khan. Gertz reported, "According to intelligence sources, the CIA recently notified the State Department that China sold 5,000 ring magnets to the A.Q. Khan Research Laboratory in Kahuta, Pakistan, last year."

Ring magnets are necessary components of the high-powered centrifuges that can enrich uranium from its natural state to weapons-grade matter. The Clinton administration tacitly confirmed this report, imposing temporary limits on U.S. trade with CNNC, but lifted them upon a commitment from China not to distribute more nuclear-weapons materials.

A 2002 report from the Congressional Research Service (CRS) attributes the Clinton administration's immediate retraction of sanctions to "considerations of trade interests of U.S. corporations with business in China." Sure enough, Bechtel at the time was helping CNNC build nuclear plants—also with Ex-Im support. Many other U.S. companies rely heavily on their trade with China, which is often aided by U.S. government subsidies.

Undeterred by their commitment to the U.S., China continued to arm Pakistan. In 1996, the *Washington Times* reported that the Chinese Nuclear Energy Industry Corporation (CNEIC), a wholly owned subsidiary of CNNC, had equipped Pakistan with special furnaces for weaponizing uranium and plutonium.

Pakistan detonated a nuclear weapon in May 1998 in response to India's nuclear capability. Yet most worrisome may not be Pakistan's use of the technol-

ogy but its distribution of it. Pakistan, like India, Israel, and Cuba, is not a party to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Although A.Q. Khan is something of a hero to many Pakistanis, the Pakistani government, under U.S. pressure, arrested Khan in 2004 for shipping centrifuges to Libya. Khan's desire for centrifuge materials was long known in the intelligence world—he was convicted in absentia in 1983 for stealing designs for a uranium centrifuge from the Dutch labs where he had worked. (The conviction was later overturned on a technicality.) Khan admitted after his arrest that he had sold nuclear weapons technology on the black market to North Korea and Iran as well as Libya.

After leading the international hunt for Khan—who had received his technology from China—the Bush administration has continued doing business with his supplier, CNNC.

CNNC has also done business with Iran's weapons program. The *Washington Post* reported in 1995 that CNEIC intended to sell Iran equipment for enriching uranium. China followed that report with another pledge that it would not help Iran's weapons program, but the CIA reported in 2002 that it was uncertain this pledge was holding up, according to CRS.

In 1998, the *Washington Post* also reported that CNEIC offered Iran's nuclear agency "a lifelong supply" of hydrofluoric acid, used in both uranium weaponization and the preparation of deadly sarin gas. Protests from Washington stopped the sale, according to CRS.

The U.S. government's declared interest in this deal centers on 5,000 jobs in

Monroeville, Pennsylvania, where Westinghouse Electric presumably will build the reactors if CNNC grants them the contract. By some definitions, Westinghouse is not an American company. It is a wholly owned subsidiary of British Nuclear Fuels Ltd. (BNFL), which, in turn, is owned by the British government. This means the profits from the sale subsidized by U.S. taxpayers would end up in the coffers of the British government.

Vice President Dick Cheney and then-Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham have both made trips to China in recent months to encourage the Chinese to buy Westinghouse's cutting-edge AP-1000, a 1,000-megawatt reactor touted as the safest and most efficient nuclear reactor ever developed. Abraham then traveled to Pittsburgh during the 2004 campaign and informed the people of Western Pennsylvania that he was working to bring jobs to the region.

On Feb. 18, days before CNNC's deadline for bids on the new project, the Export-Import Bank gave a preliminary commitment to Westinghouse for \$5 billion in direct loans and loan guarantees. This promised subsidy allowed Westinghouse to offer CNNC favorable financing—at the American taxpayer's expense.

If Westinghouse gets the contract and the loan deal goes through, it will be the largest subsidy in the history of Ex-Im, an agency Franklin Roosevelt created in 1934 to spur normalized relations with Josef Stalin's Soviet Union. The deal would likely be a combination of direct loans to China and Ex-Im guarantees of private bank loans, but the details are still undetermined.

The administration's enthusiasm for selling the AP-1000 is also tied to its visions of a domestic energy plan. Vice President Cheney has made it known since the 2000 election that he would like to see the U.S. rely more heavily on nuclear power. In March 2001, as media

enthusiasm for the Kyoto Protocol on was peaking, Cheney said on "Hardball," "If you want to do something about carbon dioxide emissions, then you ought to build nuclear power plants. They don't emit any carbon dioxide. They don't emit greenhouse gases. ... Let's take another look at nuclear power, use that to generate electricity without having any adverse consequences."

The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (USNRC) has not granted new permits to build U.S. nuclear plants since 1975, before the Three Mile Island disaster of 1979. According to various news reports, USNRC plans soon to grant new permits. There is plenty of anti-nuclear-power sentiment in the U.S., which makes the effort to restart nuclear power in America an uphill climb.

The AP-1000 uses "passive safety" mechanisms, which require much less maintenance and promise to reduce the risk of meltdown dramatically. If it works well in China, the technology will aid the administration as well as Westinghouse in trying to sell the reactor to wary Americans.

Spokesmen for Westinghouse and Ex-Im say that building the AP-1000 for CNNC poses no proliferation threat. Westinghouse spokesman Vaughan Gilbert said the technology in the reactor "is not readily transferable to a weapons program." The administration concurs, according to a Reuters article last March: "U.S. officials, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the Bush administration and the U.N.'s International Atomic Energy Agency have determined that the technology involved in the proposed plants for the state-run China National Nuclear Corp. would not represent a proliferation threat." But this does not make the potential sale and subsidy unproblematic.

To begin with, engaging in a bidding war to offer CNNC the most favorable possible deal enriches the same agency

that is developing China's nuclear weapons—some of which are currently pointed at the United States. Ex-Im officials have justified the subsidy, in part, by pointing to French and Russian subsidies of their respective bids. By joining in the subsidy pile-on, the U.S. is further driving down the price of the reactors to CNNC, meaning that Ex-Im has aided CNNC even if France gets the contract.

Second, the subsidy poses a moral hazard. The U.S. government is rewarding an agency that has engaged in nuclear proliferation. This provides bad incentives to CNNC and harms the credibility of the United States in its efforts to discourage other nations from developing nuclear weapons or to punish other nuclear proliferators.

Third, the subsidy damages the administration's credibility in Washington as it tries to limit spending. Looking at a federal budget deficit, the White House is proposing spending cuts that the Left is assailing. At the same time, the administration is offering Westinghouse a record subsidy deal—hardly leading by example.

Finally, extending loans and loan guarantees to the Chinese government gives the U.S. government, and by extension the U.S. taxpayer, a vested interest in the survival and prosperity of a Communist dictatorship that the same U.S. government has scolded for abuses of human rights and religious freedom. More specifically, the Bush administration is now invested financially and politically in the health of the Chinese nuclear program.

The Bush administration talks about free trade, fiscal discipline, and nonproliferation, but the actions of Ex-Im, whose board of directors is appointed by President Bush, all point in the opposite direction. ■

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*Timothy P. Carney is a Phillips Fellow and a freelance journalist.*

# The Fight of Santorum's Life

Why Pennsylvania's social conservatives might vote Democrat

By W. James Antle III

FEW SENATORS are more closely identified with social conservatism than Pennsylvania Republican Rick Santorum. He played a leading role in banning partial-birth abortion, worked to have Terri Schiavo's feeding tube reinserted, and has promoted the federal marriage amendment while many of his GOP colleagues have preferred to avoid the issue. So strong are his ties to the Christian Right that *Time* magazine listed him among the nation's most influential evangelicals even though he is Roman Catholic. Some conservatives even envisioned a 2008 Santorum presidential bid.

Back in Pennsylvania, conservative accolades are harder to come by. This is not simply a matter of a prophet being without honor in his own state. Many staunch pro-life Republicans have not forgotten that Santorum sided against them during last year's blistering primary fight between Sen. Arlen Specter and then-Congressman Pat Toomey. Specter's renomination and subsequent re-election assured him the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee—and the opportunity to lecture the GOP on the inviolability of *Roe v. Wade*. Each socially liberal pronouncement by Pennsylvania's senior senator only increases conservative anger at Santorum.

"You will have to live with your conscience," Penn Hills Republican activist James Gartner wrote in an open letter to Santorum. "Each and every time a beautiful human life is snuffed out, recall how you stood beside a vicious, lifetime pro-abortion supporter and uttered the words 'Arlen Specter is there when the votes

count'." Santorum may also have to live with the electoral consequences. With a restive base, he is entering an uphill re-election battle in a state that George W. Bush has lost twice. His likely Democratic opponent is Bob Casey Jr., son of the popular former governor who was famously denied a speaking slot at his party's 1992 convention because of his pro-life beliefs. The resultant showdown will test both Santorum's strength among grassroots conservatives and the Democratic Party's tolerance of pro-lifers.

On the surface, a Santorum-Casey race ought to give the incumbent some advantages. The focus on social issues that has built the senator's reputation with conservative Christians has also been a liability with swing voters. When Santorum articulated traditionalist moral arguments against homosexuality in a 2003 interview with *USA Today*, he was widely read as comparing gays to people who practice bestiality. The quote was loudly condemned and in some cases ridiculed. A Google search for "Santorum" and "man on dog" still yields 11,400 results. A general election contest with Casey takes the contentious issues of abortion and gay marriage off the table.

In 2000, Santorum was challenged by pro-life, pro-gun Congressman Ron Klink. The Republican was just as despised by social liberals back then, but Klink could not get adequate support from his party's pro-choice donor base. Santorum was re-elected as Al Gore carried Pennsylvania.

But Bob Casey Jr. is not Ron Klink. Klink had never before competed in a

statewide race. Casey has won races for auditor general and was elected state treasurer with the largest vote in Pennsylvania history. He also comes equipped with a popular family brand name and is running at a time when the GOP-controlled Congress's approval ratings are slipping. Moreover, given the lingering ill will from the Specter-Toomey race and Casey's own pro-life stance, it is not clear that Santorum can avoid playing to his base on social issues in this campaign.

"Santorum has painted himself into a corner," GrassrootsPA.com editor and Young Conservatives of Pennsylvania chairman Chris Lilik acknowledges. "He has a lot of fences to mend with his base while trying to appeal to other voters."

Casey has one other advantage that eluded Klink: support from a hungry national Democratic Party. Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Chairman Charles Schumer, a pro-choice liberal from New York, encouraged Casey to run and worked to clear the primary field of big-name abortion-rights supporters. Pro-choice former Republican Barbara Hafer, a potential challenger, has endorsed Casey. Gov. Ed Rendell is also on board, making appearances with his pro-life erstwhile rival. A *Philadelphia Inquirer* poll shows Casey with a 17-point lead over Santorum. With a 10-seat deficit in the U.S. Senate, an election win is more important to many Democrats than genuflecting to pro-choice orthodoxy. To judge how big of a shift this is, one need only look back to Casey's 2002 gubernatorial primary race against Rendell.



To be sure, some Democrats continue to grumble about Casey's pro-life views. Political consultant and longtime NARAL head Kate Michelman implicitly compared pro-lifers in her party to racists: "Can you imagine recruiting people to run for the Senate with a record of opposition to affirmative action or to *Brown v. Board of Education*?" But this is nothing compared to the \$574,000 NARAL spent to defeat Casey in 2002. As Robert Novak reported at the time, NARAL targeted 90,000 voters deemed likely to disagree with Casey on abortion, going so far as to encourage 13,000 suburban Philadelphia pro-choice Republicans to re-register to back Rendell in the Democratic primary.

NARAL also produced an ad listing Casey's crimes against the pro-choice cause: "Bob Casey would sign a law banning abortions. Casey even opposes abortions for victims of rape and incest." While there were many reasons for Casey's unexpectedly lopsided defeat—including negative campaigning against Rendell as well—abortion was a factor. Nearly four years later, there is no sign of a comparable pro-choice backlash against Casey's candidacy for the Senate, even though he will be in a far better position to press his views on *Roe v. Wade* there than as governor of Pennsylvania.

The combination of social conservative anger at Santorum and Casey's pro-life position may put the right-to-life vote in play in this election. But Casey himself is not without pro-life critics. Ray Horvath is a conservative Republican angry at Santorum for supporting Specter, but he is not convinced of Casey's *bona fides* either. "Bob Casey Jr. may be his father's son," he says, "but he doesn't have his father's backbone to stand against the national Democratic Party."

Others note Casey's close relationship with the national party. "People beat up Santorum for campaigning for Specter,"

says Lilik. "But they shouldn't give Casey a pass for doing ads for John Kerry."

Casey would overturn *Roe* and ban abortion except to save the mother's life, though if necessary to a bill's passage he is willing to accept rape and incest exceptions as well. He favored federal intervention on behalf of Terri Schiavo and opposed federally funded embryonic stem-cell research, positions that put him to the right of many pro-life Republicans. But questions remain about how reliable a vote he will be for anti-*Roe* GOP judicial nominees. A pro-life activist points out that he has never held an elected office that allowed him to accumulate an actual record on abortion, despite his encouraging policy statements.

Casey's campaign denied *American Spectator* reports he was "comfortable with the party's position" on abortion, stem cells, and judges. But many pro-lifers argue that he will have to be clearer about where he stands on judicial filibusters to win their support. Will

he vote for pro-life legislation but refuse to confirm judges who would be willing to uphold the constitutionality of these laws? "He may argue that he's not filibustering them for abortion, but for labor or civil rights issues," says Lilik. "It's not clear how far he is going to carry it with judicial nominations." "In a two-way race between Santorum and Casey," Gartner explains, "it all comes down to the judges."

Despite doubts about Casey's independence, Pennsylvania conservatives disagree about whether Santorum can restore his image with his base. "I'm afraid there's nothing he can do," says Horvath. "It's a matter of trust and Rick can no longer be trusted to vote consistently for what is right because it is right." Gartner is less certain: "Rick needs to reach out to repair the damage that he caused."

Conservatives once made it possible to speculate about President Santorum. They now may hold the key to whether there remains a Senator Santorum. ■

## Mr. Company President is Sexy!

Beware the man in the pink floral suit

By A.G. Gancarski

THERE IS A SPECIAL PLACE in hell reserved for fashion designers. The mutability of their product is only exceeded by the duplicity behind it: the goal of the fashion industry is to sell a usually unattainable image for top-dollar. Whether fashionistas are convincing women, as was the case in the days before the Civil War, that their purposes were best served by employing torture devices to attain 13-inch waists, or more recently, that the "grunge" look of the '90s was best achieved with a \$750 *haute couture* flannel shirt, the

game has always been predicated on base deception.

Until recently, Americans have labored under the assumption that fashion mostly concerns the fairer sex. Traditional wisdom held that all a man needed to be ready for life was close-cropped coif, a steady timepiece, and a Brooks Brothers suit. Those days are over. The ideas contained in men's fashion magazines have spilled over into the larger culture with an almost wholly deleterious, feminizing effect. Television, pop music, even political gabfests

where virtually every man on the set “thinks pink” have all colluded to end the era of the Man in the Gray Flannel Suit.

This especially saddens me, as I have never owned a gray flannel suit. But the men who once would have been expected to own such suits have shed their 20th-century mufti and embraced the aesthetic of a new age. Hot on the heels of last year’s metrosexual craze comes Hybrid Man, a fashion-forward fellow who understands the limits put on him by his gender and adjusts accordingly, with the able assistance of fashion professionals.

The difference between the metrosexual and the hybrid man is one of evolutionary semantics, like the gap between the Big Gulp and the Super Big Gulp or the Indispensable Nation and the Hyperpower. If the metrosexual had not provided the necessary prologue, then perhaps there would be no hybrid man—and that would be a tragedy, as the latest gambit of the Paris fashion industry would be quashed.

Pierre Francois Le Louet, a representative of French marketing and style consultants Nelly Rodi, had these telling words to say during a recent seminar involving the major players in the Eurofashion world: “The masculine ideal is being completely modified. All the traditional male values of authority, infallibility, virility and strength are being completely overturned” in favor of “creativity, sensitivity and multiplicity.” Moreover, Le Louet claims that “we are watching the birth of a hybrid man. ... Why not put on a pink-flowered shirt and try out a partner-swapping club?”

Predictably, Le Louet’s vision extends deeper than wife swapping and the injudicious wearing of floral patterns. The Parisian couture hustler claims that his “hybrid man ... is looking for a more radical affirmation of who he is, and

wants to test out all the barbarity of modern life.” By “barbarity of modern life” the Frenchmen doesn’t mean that the hybrid man is going to join a UN peacekeeping mission or anything that rash. Instead, he will simply hew to the values expressed by Reebok in their recent “I am what I am” campaign, which neatly yoked the timeless values of sweatshop sneaker production and played-out sexual adventurism.

Interestingly, Le Louet specifically singled out China during this seminar as not being ready for the dislodging of the traditional male aesthetic. But the United States and other advanced countries are full of easy marks for this marketing gimmick, launched just in time to help prop up the sagging economies of Europe. A recent account in *Newsday* spotlights an example of the marketing of the “hybrid man” in Nagakute, Japan:

The dance music throbs as the men jaunt down the runway, showing off the latest in summer corporate fashion: pinstripe jackets and shirts unbuttoned rakishly to mid-chest.

But you won’t find many chiseled features on the faces of these models—instead of young turks in their prime, the men strutting before the crowd are wispy-haired company executives in their 50s or older... ‘Mr. Company President is sexy!’ gushed an announcer as Toyota Motor’s [72 year old] chairman of the board, Hiroshi Okuda, showed off a sharp black suit and pants at a fashion show this week at the 2005 World Fair.

How is it possible to market such rampant vanity to people who should know better? And why isn’t it possible—yet—in certain sectors of the developing world? It’s hard to shake the idea that the hybrid man, like so many other abominations of the postwar era, would

not have been possible without a general softening of the populace itself. The erosion of the extended, then the nuclear, family structures in places like the U.S. and Japan had something to do with it. The disintegration of traditional religious structures likewise helped to bring us to this sorry impasse where septuagenarian titans of industry improbably worry about whether they’re hot or not. The modern man, divested of tribe, family, and faith, now finds his final solace in a suit of clothes.

The clothes confer onto the wearer a certain “cultural capital,” to borrow a phrase from a dead French sociologist. But “cultural capital” only holds its value in this process if leveling agents don’t come into play. If they do, it follows that other things—like outfits that cost as much as some people’s homes—provide that capital.

It is possible for a poor person in certain countries, especially the United States, to rise above his station and to function vaguely within the same milieu as the power elite. But that poor person is not terribly likely to indulge his quest for sex appeal by embracing couture designs, and thus the hybrid-man status provides a point of class demarcation. To put it bluntly, a plumber’s son doesn’t have much time or incentive to feel pretty, even if he makes six figures.

In places like China, where Confucian ideas of filial piety still hold some appeal, it is somewhat less possible to push the concept of the hybrid man. China still is a practical place, where people study hard sciences and sidestep the myriad mendacities of the fashion industry. But it is only a matter of time until the Chinese and others fall victim to these dapper depredations. As Confucius might have said, “may you live in fashion-forward times.” ■

*A.G. Gancarski writes from Gainesville, Fla.*

# The Logic of Suicide Terrorism

It's the occupation, not the fundamentalism

*Last month, Scott McConnell caught up with Associate Professor Robert Pape of the University of Chicago, whose book on suicide terrorism, *Dying to Win*, is beginning to receive wide notice. Pape has found that the most common American perceptions about who the terrorists are and what motivates them are off by a wide margin. In his office is the world's largest database of information about suicide terrorists, rows and rows of manila folders containing articles and biographical snippets in dozens of languages compiled by Pape and teams of graduate students, a trove of data that has been sorted and analyzed and which underscores the great need for reappraising the Bush administration's current strategy. Below are excerpts from a conversation with the man who knows more about suicide terrorists than any other American.*

**The American Conservative:** Your new book, *Dying to Win*, has a subtitle: *The Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. Can you just tell us generally on what the book is based, what kind of research went into it, and what your findings were?

**Robert Pape:** Over the past two years, I have collected the first complete database of every suicide-terrorist attack around the world from 1980 to early 2004. This research is conducted not only in English but also in native-language sources—Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, and Tamil, and others—so that we can gather information not only from newspapers but also from products from the terrorist community. The terrorists are often quite proud of what they do in

their local communities, and they produce albums and all kinds of other information that can be very helpful to understand suicide-terrorist attacks.

This wealth of information creates a new picture about what is motivating suicide terrorism. Islamic fundamentalism is not as closely associated with suicide terrorism as many people think. The world leader in suicide terrorism is a group that you may not be familiar with: the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka.

This is a Marxist group, a completely secular group that draws from the Hindu families of the Tamil regions of the country. They invented the famous suicide vest for their suicide assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991. The Palestinians got the idea of the suicide vest from the Tamil Tigers.

**TAC:** So if Islamic fundamentalism is not necessarily a key variable behind these groups, what is?

**RP:** The central fact is that overwhelmingly suicide-terrorist attacks are not driven by religion as much as they are by a clear strategic objective: to compel modern democracies to withdraw military forces from the territory that the terrorists view as their homeland. From Lebanon to Sri Lanka to Chechnya to Kashmir to the West Bank, every major suicide-terrorist campaign—over 95 percent of all the incidents—has had as its central objective to compel a democratic state to withdraw.

**TAC:** That would seem to run contrary to a view that one heard during the American election campaign, put forth by people who favor Bush's policy. That is,

we need to fight the terrorists over there, so we don't have to fight them here.

**RP:** Since suicide terrorism is mainly a response to foreign occupation and not Islamic fundamentalism, the use of heavy military force to transform Muslim societies over there, if you would, is only likely to increase the number of suicide terrorists coming at us.

Since 1990, the United States has stationed tens of thousands of ground troops on the Arabian Peninsula, and that is the main mobilization appeal of Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda. People who make the argument that it is a good thing to have them attacking us over there are missing that suicide terrorism is not a supply-limited phenomenon where there are just a few hundred around the world willing to do it because they are religious fanatics. It is a demand-driven phenomenon. That is, it is driven by the presence of foreign forces on the territory that the terrorists view as their homeland. The operation in Iraq has stimulated suicide terrorism and has given suicide terrorism a new lease on life.

**TAC:** If we were to back up a little bit before the invasion of Iraq to what happened before 9/11, what was the nature of the agitprop that Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda were putting out to attract people?

**RP:** Osama bin Laden's speeches and sermons run 40 and 50 pages long. They begin by calling tremendous attention to the presence of tens of thousands of

*Continued on Page 20*







## *Continued from Page 17*

American combat forces on the Arabian Peninsula.

In 1996, he went on to say that there was a grand plan by the United States—that the Americans were going to use combat forces to conquer Iraq, break it into three pieces, give a piece of it to Israel so that Israel could enlarge its country, and then do the same thing to Saudi Arabia. As you can see, we are fulfilling his prediction, which is of tremendous help in his mobilization appeals.

**TAC:** The fact that we had troops stationed on the Arabian Peninsula was not a very live issue in American debate at all. How many Saudis and other people in the Gulf were conscious of it?

**RP:** We would like to think that if we could keep a low profile with our troops that it would be okay to station them in

**BEFORE OUR INVASION, IRAQ NEVER HAD A SUICIDE-TERRORIST ATTACK IN ITS HISTORY. NEVER.**

foreign countries. The truth is, we did keep a fairly low profile. We did try to keep them away from Saudi society in general, but the key issue with American troops is their actual combat power. Tens of thousands of American combat troops, married with air power, is a tremendously powerful tool.

Now, of course, today we have 150,000 troops on the Arabian Peninsula, and we are more in control of the Arabian Peninsula than ever before.

**TAC:** If you were to break down causal factors, how much weight would you put on a cultural rejection of the West and how much weight on the presence of American troops on Muslim territory?

**RP:** The evidence shows that the presence of American troops is clearly the pivotal factor driving suicide terrorism.

If Islamic fundamentalism were the pivotal factor, then we should see some of the largest Islamic fundamentalist countries in the world, like Iran, which has 70 million people—three times the population of Iraq and three times the population of Saudi Arabia—with some of the most active groups in suicide terrorism against the United States. However, there has never been an al-Qaeda suicide terrorist from Iran, and we have no evidence that there are any suicide terrorists in Iraq from Iran.

Sudan is a country of 21 million people. Its government is extremely Islamic fundamentalist. The ideology of Sudan was so congenial to Osama bin Laden that he spent three years in Sudan in the 1990s. Yet there has never been an al-Qaeda suicide terrorist from Sudan.

I have the first complete set of data on every al-Qaeda suicide terrorist from 1995 to early 2004, and they are not from some of the largest Islamic fundamentalist countries in the world. Two thirds are from the countries where the United States has stationed heavy combat troops since 1990.

Another point in this regard is Iraq itself. Before our invasion, Iraq never had a suicide-terrorist attack in its history. Never. Since our invasion, suicide terrorism has been escalating rapidly with 20 attacks in 2003, 48 in 2004, and over 50 in just the first five months of 2005. Every year that the United States has stationed 150,000 combat troops in Iraq, suicide terrorism has doubled.

**TAC:** So your assessment is that there are more suicide terrorists or potential suicide terrorists today than there were in March 2003?

**RP:** I have collected demographic data from around the world on the 462 suicide terrorists since 1980 who completed the mission, actually killed themselves. This information tells us that most are walk-in volunteers. Very few are criminals. Few are actually longtime members of a terrorist group. For most suicide terrorists, their first experience with violence is their very own suicide-terrorist attack.

There is no evidence there were any suicide-terrorist organizations lying in wait in Iraq before our invasion. What is happening is that the suicide terrorists have been produced by the invasion.

**TAC:** Do we know who is committing suicide terrorism in Iraq? Are they primarily Iraqis or walk-ins from other countries in the region?

**RP:** Our best information at the moment is that the Iraqi suicide terrorists are coming from two groups—Iraqi Sunnis and Saudis—the two populations most vulnerable to transformation by the presence of large American combat troops on the Arabian Peninsula. This is perfectly consistent with the strategic logic of suicide terrorism.

**TAC:** Does al-Qaeda have the capacity to launch attacks on the United States, or are they too tied down in Iraq? Or have they made a strategic decision not to attack the United States, and if so, why?

**RP:** Al-Qaeda appears to have made a deliberate decision not to attack the United States in the short term. We know this not only from the pattern of their attacks but because we have an



actual al-Qaeda planning document found by Norwegian intelligence. The document says that al-Qaeda should not try to attack the continent of the United States in the short term but instead should focus its energies on hitting America's allies in order to try to split the coalition.

What the document then goes on to do is analyze whether they should hit Britain, Poland, or Spain. It concludes that they should hit Spain just before the March 2004 elections because, and I am quoting almost verbatim: Spain could not withstand two, maximum three, blows before withdrawing from the coalition, and then others would fall like dominoes.

That is exactly what happened. Six months after the document was produced, al-Qaeda attacked Spain in Madrid. That caused Spain to withdraw from the coalition. Others have followed. So al-Qaeda certainly has demonstrated the capacity to attack and in fact they have done over 15 suicide-terrorist attacks since 2002, more than all the years before 9/11 combined. Al-Qaeda is not weaker now. Al-Qaeda is stronger.

**TAC:** What would constitute a victory in the War on Terror or at least an improvement in the American situation?

**RP:** For us, victory means not sacrificing any of our vital interests while also not having Americans vulnerable to suicide-terrorist attacks. In the case of the Persian Gulf, that means we should pursue a strategy that secures our interest in oil but does not encourage the rise of a new generation of suicide terrorists.

In the 1970s and the 1980s, the United States secured its interest in oil without stationing a single combat soldier on the Arabian Peninsula. Instead, we formed an alliance with Iraq and Saudi Arabia, which we can now do again. We relied

on numerous aircraft carriers off the coast of the Arabian Peninsula, and naval air power now is more effective not less. We also built numerous military bases so that we could move large numbers of ground forces to the region quickly if a crisis emerged.

**FOR US, VICTORY MEANS NOT SACRIFICING ANY OF OUR VITAL INTERESTS WHILE ALSO NOT HAVING AMERICANS VULNERABLE TO SUICIDE-TERRORIST ATTACKS. IN THE CASE OF THE PERSIAN GULF, THAT MEANS WE SHOULD PURSUE A STRATEGY THAT SECURES OUR INTEREST IN OIL.**

That strategy, called "offshore balancing," worked splendidly against Saddam Hussein in 1990 and is again our best strategy to secure our interest in oil while preventing the rise of more suicide terrorists.

**TAC:** Osama bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders also talked about the "Crusaders-Zionist alliance," and I wonder if that, even if we weren't in Iraq, would not foster suicide terrorism. Even if the policy had helped bring about a Palestinian state, I don't think that would appease the more hardcore opponents of Israel.

**RP:** I not only study the patterns of where suicide terrorism has occurred but also where it hasn't occurred. Not every foreign occupation has produced suicide terrorism. Why do some and not others? Here is where religion matters, but not quite in the way most people think. In virtually every instance where an occupation has produced a suicide-terrorist campaign, there has been a religious difference between the occupier and the occupied community. That is true not only in places such as Lebanon and in Iraq today but also in Sri Lanka, where it is the Sinhala Buddhists who

are having a dispute with the Hindu Tamils.

When there is a religious difference between the occupier and the occupied, that enables terrorist leaders to demonize the occupier in especially vicious ways. Now, that still requires

the occupier to be there. Absent the presence of foreign troops, Osama bin Laden could make his arguments but there wouldn't be much reality behind them. The reason that it is so difficult for us to dispute those arguments is because we really do have tens of thousands of combat soldiers sitting on the Arabian Peninsula.

**TAC:** Has the next generation of anti-American suicide terrorists already been created? Is it too late to wind this down, even assuming your analysis is correct and we could de-occupy Iraq?

**RP:** Many people worry that once a large number of suicide terrorists have acted that it is impossible to wind it down. The history of the last 20 years, however, shows the opposite. Once the occupying forces withdraw from the homeland territory of the terrorists, they often stop—and often on a dime.

In Lebanon, for instance, there were 41 suicide-terrorist attacks from 1982 to 1986, and after the U.S. withdrew its forces, France withdrew its forces, and then Israel withdrew to just that six-mile buffer zone of Lebanon, they virtually ceased. They didn't completely stop, but there was no campaign of suicide

terrorism. Once Israel withdrew from the vast bulk of Lebanese territory, the suicide terrorists did not follow Israel to Tel Aviv.

This is also the pattern of the second Intifada with the Palestinians. As Israel is at least promising to withdraw from Palestinian-controlled territory (in addition to some other factors), there has been a decline of that ferocious suicide-terrorist campaign. This is just more evidence that withdrawal of military forces really does diminish the ability of the terrorist leaders to recruit more suicide terrorists.

THE PURPOSE OF A SUICIDE-TERRORIST ATTACK IS **NOT TO DIE**. IT IS THE KILL, TO **INFLECT CASUALTIES ON THE TARGET** SOCIETY IN ORDER TO COMPEL THAT SOCIETY TO PUT **PRESSURE ON ITS GOVERNMENT TO CHANGE POLICY**.

That doesn't mean that the existing suicide terrorists will not want to keep going. I am not saying that Osama bin Laden would turn over a new leaf and suddenly vote for George Bush. There will be a tiny number of people who are still committed to the cause, but the real issue is not whether Osama bin Laden exists. It is whether anybody listens to him. That is what needs to come to an end for Americans to be safe from suicide terrorism.

**TAC:** There have been many kinds of non-Islamic suicide terrorists, but have there been Christian suicide terrorists?

**RP:** Not from Christian groups *per se*, but in Lebanon in the 1980s, of those suicide attackers, only eight were Islamic fundamentalists. Twenty-seven were Communists and Socialists. Three were Christians.

**TAC:** Has the IRA used suicide terrorism?

**RP:** The IRA did not. There were IRA members willing to commit suicide—the famous hunger strike was in 1981. What is missing in the IRA case is not the willingness to commit suicide, to kill themselves, but the lack of a suicide-terrorist attack where they try to kill others.

If you look at the pattern of violence in the IRA, almost all of the killing is front-loaded to the 1970s and then trails off rather dramatically as you get through the mid-1980s through the 1990s. There is a good reason for that, which is that the British government, starting in the mid-1980s, began to make

numerous concessions to the IRA on the basis of its ordinary violence. In fact, there were secret negotiations in the 1980s, which then led to public negotiations, which then led to the Good Friday Accords. If you look at the pattern of the IRA, this is a case where they actually got virtually everything that they wanted through ordinary violence.

The purpose of a suicide-terrorist attack is not to die. It is the kill, to inflict the maximum number of casualties on the target society in order to compel that target society to put pressure on its government to change policy. If the government is already changing policy, then the whole point of suicide terrorism, at least the way it has been used for the last 25 years, doesn't come up.

**TAC:** Are you aware of any different strategic decision made by al-Qaeda to change from attacking American troops or ships stationed at or near the Gulf to attacking American civilians in the United States?

**RP:** I wish I could say yes because that would then make the people reading this a lot more comfortable.

The fact is not only in the case of al-Qaeda, but in suicide-terrorist campaigns in general, we don't see much evidence that suicide-terrorist groups adhere to a norm of attacking military targets in some circumstances and civilians in others.

In fact, we often see that suicide-terrorist groups routinely attack both civilian and military targets, and often the military targets are off-duty policemen who are unsuspecting. They are not really prepared for battle.

The reasons for the target selection of suicide terrorists appear to be much more based on operational rather than normative criteria. They appear to be looking for the targets where they can maximize the number of casualties.

In the case of the West Bank, for instance, there is a pattern where Hamas and Islamic Jihad use ordinary guerrilla attacks, not suicide attacks, mainly to attack settlers. They use suicide attacks to penetrate into Israel proper. Over 75 percent of all the suicide attacks in the second Intifada were against Israel proper and only 25 percent on the West Bank itself.

**TAC:** What do you think the chances are of a weapon of mass destruction being used in an American city?

**RP:** I think it depends not exclusively, but heavily, on how long our combat forces remain in the Persian Gulf. The central motive for anti-American terrorism, suicide terrorism, and catastrophic terrorism is response to foreign occupation, the presence of our troops. The longer our forces stay on the ground in the Arabian Peninsula, the greater the risk of the next 9/11, whether that is a suicide attack, a nuclear attack, or a biological attack. ■

# Are We Blind?

## Can't We See What Is Happening To Us?

We are living way beyond our means and improperly using statistics that distort reality and misleadingly show that things are wonderful. We are importing more, producing less in American-owned factories, and selling off our irreplaceable wealth-producing companies and other assets to pay for imports and debt.

### Losing Ownership and Control Of Our Country

We are losing ownership and control of our country through unsustainable balance-of-trade deficits. In the last 10 years, we have lost \$3.0 Trillion through these trade deficits. \$1.3 Trillion has been returned and used by foreign companies to buy our best companies like Chrysler, Amoco, Atlantic Richfield Oil, and 8,600 other great companies. For example, key chokepoint industries like cement is 81% foreign owned, movie industry now 70% foreign owned.

### GDP Far Overstates Our True Economic Health

We say our GDP is growing over 4% per year over the last 10 years. However, this statistic does not adequately measure the impact of the deterioration of our domestically owned production and manufacturing capabilities. 70% of GDP is consumer spending—dollars that now go largely to imports or products made domestically by foreign-owned companies (e.g., Hyundai's produced in Alabama). Figures from the IRS show that imports account for at least 25% of manufactured goods consumption in the U.S. and that many U.S. so-called domestic industries are actually 25% to 80% owned by foreign interests.

### Rising GDP Only Increases US Trade Deficits

Therefore, as our domestically owned manufacturing continues to decline, rising GDP actually increases the balance-of-trade deficits. In other words, *the more our economy "grows," the deeper in debt we become*. On average, our balance-of-trade deficit has grown 24% compounded annually over the last 10 years. GDP simply does not account for the loss of wealth producing assets or the future cost of repaying the debts and rebuilding our lost industries.

In 2004 alone, the balance-of-trade deficit was a record \$617 Billion. That is approximately \$1.2 Million per minute leaving our country, coming back not to buy merchandise but to buy us out.

### Repaying Our Debts With What?

How will we ever repay our debts (\$400+ Billion per year internal Government budget deficit plus \$600+ Billion per year external trade deficit) when we no longer have any significant tradeable, domestically owned wealth-producing industries left? How can we fund new growth and repay debts to foreign countries if our industries and their profits are owned by those very countries?

### Our Priorities Are Distorted

While we focus on changing Social Security and other programs, we don't realize that no system will work if we are not able to create wealth within our own country to fund it. The most important priority is planning for our economic health, from which many other issues will be resolved. If this country is not fundamentally capable of sustaining itself without huge imports and massive borrowings, no amount of legislation will satisfy our obligations and sustain our standard of living.

### How Well and How Long Can We Live Like This?

How secure can we be if we must live on imports and sell off or dismantle our factories? And how safe will we be if we are forced to *outsource* our manufacturing to foreign companies in order to compete? How can we justify subsidized foreign owned manufacturing *insourcing* in America (e.g., the auto industry) that is operating for their profit and their benefit while they destroy our unsubsidized and disadvantaged American-owned auto and other factories that are saddled with excessive health and pension costs? Chrysler is now a German company. General Motors is in quick decline and has lost \$1.1 Billion in the last quarter alone. Ford is quickly losing market share. If some outside enemy wanted to destroy America, they couldn't do it better than we are doing it to ourselves.

*We are taking the invulnerability and permanence of our industries and our country for granted while other countries are actively engaged in our undoing. Why are we allowing this to happen? Who is responsible for this?*

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# ECONOMY IN CRISIS

CREATING AWARENESS OF OUR TRUE ECONOMIC CONDITION



# Moscow's Monroe Doctrine

The millions of Russians in the former Soviet republics could advance Russian stability and American interests.

By **Robertson Morrow**

"The demise of the Soviet Union was the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century. As for the Russian people, it became a genuine tragedy. Tens of millions of our fellow citizens and countrymen found themselves beyond the fringes of Russian territory."

—Vladimir Putin, April 2005

PRESIDENT PUTIN'S STATEMENT is a gross exaggeration. Two greater—and genuine—geopolitical catastrophes of the 20th century killed tens of millions of Russians each. The first was the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917, which led to the Red Terror of the early Soviet state and the re-intensification of the Communist terror under Stalin in the 1930s. The second was the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939, which doomed the Russian people to confront Nazi Europe mostly alone for three horrific years. The breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 is not even in the same league.

But the dissolution of 1991 did strand tens of millions of Russians in the Near Abroad—Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and the 11 other formerly Soviet but now independent republics outside Russia. The massive inflation it spawned cost citizens their life savings, enabled the oligarchs to loot Russia while controlling most of the media, and contributed to the Chechen rebellion.

Perhaps Putin's statement is merely domestic politics—a rhetorical appeal to elderly voters fond of the strong

Soviet Union of their younger days. But it is much more likely that Putin is signaling a major policy shift: a push to reunite Russia with the Russian-populated regions of the Near Abroad.

From the Russian point of view, the Near Abroad presents three problems. First, Russians fear discrimination wherever they constitute a minority—as the 20 million Russians and millions more Russophones in the Near Abroad do. Second, Russia proper, which is 300 miles wide near the Caucasus and has vast European borders, is indefensible without the buffer of the Near Abroad. Russia is thus very sensitive to hostile governments taking power in the Near Abroad. The third problem was well put by Dick Morris in a recent article: "Will the centrifugal tendencies [of the Near Abroad] reach all the way into the Russian heartland?" Morris aptly summarized an observation of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger:

... Kissinger once said that Russia is either expanding or contracting. It cannot exist in stasis. So polyglot are the peoples that inhabit its many regions and so diverse are its repressed nationalities that Russia is either pushing outward, keeping its people in line as it bulges toward new acquisitions, or is imploding. Kissinger's theory looks pretty valid today. ... [T]he real question is: How long can Moscow exert its hold over its own Russian

territory and over the minds of its subjects?

Morris is in favor of these centrifugal forces. Putin is naturally opposed. But their analyses of the underlying facts are seemingly identical.

Nowhere is the problem of the Near Abroad more acute than in Ukraine. Ten million Russians and millions more Russophones constitute the majority in eastern Ukraine and the Crimea. This region supported the pro-Russian candidate in the Ukrainian election by 75 percent. But after Western intervention and an unusual second ballot, Russians in Ukraine were subjected to the rule of an anti-Russian politician. This election may have been the trigger for Putin's policy shift.

After Ukraine, the second largest concentration of Russians and Russophones outside Russia is in Kazakhstan, especially its northern and western provinces. The Russian presence in five of these provinces is so heavy that Khrushchev considered transferring them to Russia in the 1960s—about the time, incidentally, that the Crimea was transferred from Russia to Ukraine.

Then there is Belarus (White Russia). After World War II, Stalin moved whole nations a hundred miles west to ethnically cleanse Eastern Europe. As a result, White Russians, who resemble Russians, dominate Belarus. Many White Russians want Belarus to rejoin Russia, as proposed by their president,

rather than join the European Union. That makes it entirely plausible that Putin intends to invite these Russian-speaking territories to unite politically with Moscow.

If Russia and the Russians in these regions do wish to reunite, the American government should have a clear policy: let them. The Cold War is over. Soviet Communism is no more. And a bigger, stronger Russia benefits America in four specific ways.

First, Russia has thus far managed to keep control of the vast stockpile of weapons built by the former Soviet Union. Once spread throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe, these weapons have mostly been brought back to Russia proper. Many have been destroyed. A great many more will be dismantled in the decades ahead. Despite rumors, none are known to have fallen into the hands of terrorists or rogue regimes. This is one of the greatest averted catastrophes in human history. Any relative weakening of the Russian state, as may arise if the Near Abroad continues to drift away from Russia, threatens that unblemished record.

Second, America benefits by keeping resource-rich Siberia out of Chinese hands. Siberia is larger than Canada, with more natural resources and fewer people. Much of it was part of China for centuries and now sits next door. Going forward, China will be much richer and stronger than Russia. If Russia is too weak—or, worse, breaks up—China stands to retake Siberia. While American and Chinese interests are not in direct conflict, America should not run the geopolitical risk of excessively strengthening China by inviting her to acquire the riches of Siberia.

Third, from Chechnya to the steppes of Central Asia, Russia is on the front lines in the war against radical Islam. Russia had its own 9/11 at Beslan, where

**The Patriot Act, which the Bush administration is attempting to make even more intrusive, has been falsely described as an essential law-and-order tool**

against international terrorism. In the nearly four years since 9/11, there have been thousands of detentions and interrogations of terrorist suspects leading to nearly 400 prosecutions on terrorism charges and fewer than 40 convictions. Most of the 40 convictions were on the “aiding and abetting” level and were plea bargained. The average jail time for those convicted has been 11 months, suggesting that either the War on Terror is a complete failure or that there are no terrorists to find. More interesting, however, is the impact of the Patriot Act. While the due process afforded to terrorism suspects is less than completely transparent, none of the 40 terrorism-related convictions appears to have been based on information obtained through Patriot Act provisions.



**Afghan President Hamid Karzai’s control over many provincial tribal areas is eroding**

while insurgents, including remnants of the Taliban, have significantly increased attacks, making travel outside Kabul perilous. Dozens of U.S. and Afghan military personnel and civilians have died in recent weeks, and international aid programs are at a standstill. Karzai’s biggest problem is Washington. He is losing credibility with his own people and has been unable to demonstrate any political successes recently despite his pleas for symbolic American gestures that could bolster his position. For example, Afghanistan does not control its own prison system, and Karzai increasingly is being blamed by Afghans for the prison abuses at Bagram and elsewhere that recently sparked bloody anti-American protests. When Karzai raised the issue during his visit to the U.S., President Bush offered no concessions to Karzai that the latter could point to as progress towards genuine Afghan independence. Rumors have proliferated, even among close supporters of Karzai, that he is choosing to ignore repeated allegations that American troops have raped Afghan female interpreters. The rumors, spread by rebel chieftains such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, are not true, but they are becoming fodder for Taliban insurgents to rally public support against Karzai. The increased level of violence undermines predictions by U.S. and Afghan officials that the Taliban is about to collapse. Karzai’s viability as president of Afghanistan depends almost entirely on the continued American presence in the country, but reliance on a seemingly obtuse Washington is becoming a two-edged sword.



**In a new sign that the Libyan regime of Muammar Khaddafi has not changed its stripes**

despite Libya’s economically motivated rapprochement with the West, a prominent Libyan journalist was recently murdered. There are many indications that the journalist, Deif al-Ghazzelle, who was outspoken in criticizing Libyan government corruption, was tortured before being killed. Khaddafi’s Libya continues to be a place where individual liberties depend very much on who you are and whom you know. The regime will likely ensure that the foreign companies engaged in petroleum exploitation are able to operate in a protected cocoon, but al-Ghazzelle’s murder and the recent exposure of Khaddafi’s attempt to have Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia assassinated show a darker side.

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radical Muslim Chechnyans murdered 186 Russian children. America should avoid any risk of another victory for radical Islam comparable to that in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

Finally, America also stands to benefit from the establishment of a peaceful, stable boundary between Europe and Russian Orthodox civilization. In Eastern Europe, the greatest American interest is peace. America does not specifically care who rules in Kishinev or Dnepropetrovsk. As a practical matter, given the institutions in place

Kaliningrad—taken by Stalin in 1945 and now a bizarre island of the Russian Federation surrounded by EU territory—and make it in some way part of the European Union. And Russia should repatriate as many Russians as can be accommodated from the remainder of the Near Abroad in Europe—that is, from the remainder of Ukraine, Moldova, and the Baltic States.

Under such a reciprocal territorial deal, a stable border between Russia and the European Union would come into being. Politically and economically,

Beltway Russophobia. Consider, for example, the view of Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Polish-born academic and national security adviser to President Carter. Brzezinski recently castigated the Russian government and its well-wishers in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*, taking to task those who “pretend that [Russia’s] non-democratic regime is already a democracy.”

Count me among the pretenders. In a world of China, Saudi Arabia, and a score of Equatorial Guineas, any plausible division of the world into “democratic” and “non-democratic” states would put Russia in the democratic column.

Brzezinski is not alone in being a Russophobe. Most leading neoconservatives have publicly and consistently taken positions against Russian Orthodox Christian civilization. When the first President Bush made some peaceable comments about Russian unity, William Safire and other neoconservatives taunted him with the phrase “Chicken Kiev.” When Muslim terrorists in Chechnya (a province of the Russian Federation) began their insurgency against Russia, Bill Kristol, Frank Gaffney, and other neoconservatives signed up to support them through the American Committee for Peace in Chechnya. The record is sadly clear: neocons talk about democracy but work to divide and undermine Russian Orthodox civilization.

True democracy cuts the other way. Given the geography of Russia and the Near Abroad, Russian voters actually want a stronger, bigger Russia. Voting patterns in Ukraine suggest that the people of eastern Ukraine, Crimea, Belarus, and northwestern Kazakhstan want—and will vote—to rejoin Russia. America’s interests are clear: let them. ■

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IN A WORLD OF **CHINA, SAUDI ARABIA, AND A SCORE OF EQUATORIAL GUINEAS,**  
ANY PLAUSIBLE **DIVISION OF THE WORLD** INTO “DEMOCRATIC” AND “NON-  
DEMOCRATIC” STATES WOULD **PUT RUSSIA IN THE DEMOCRATIC COLUMN.**

today, peace in Eastern Europe should take the form of a sensible border between the European Union and NATO on one side and the Russian Federation on the other. Territories with mixed allegiances in the middle, such as the current Ukraine, will inherently be points of conflict.

Unfortunately, the existing borders of the Russian Federation leave more than 20 million Russians stranded in the Near Abroad. To protect its own stability, Russia must get bigger in Europe by reuniting with East Ukraine, the Crimea, and perhaps Belarus. The U.S. should therefore make clear to Russia that it has no objection to residents of Ukraine, Crimea, Kazakhstan, or Belarus choosing to join the Moscow government.

What do we get in return? America should ask Putin to allow the remainder of Ukraine and Moldova, if they wish, to join the European Community and NATO. Russia should demilitarize what was Northeast Prussia and is today

that border would be crisp: there would be almost 600 million Europeans on one side, roughly 170 million Russians on the other, and no one in the middle. At least in Europe, Russia would achieve stability.

Under such a deal, Russia would pose no threat whatsoever to America. It would be a satisfied power far more interested in defending itself against threats to its broad territory and riches than in making trouble for America. What would we fight over, islands in the Bering Strait?

A greater Russia would govern more than 10 percent of the world’s territory but under 3 percent of its population—a population shrinking even in absolute terms. A satisfied Russia would be a partner for a satisfied America.

Indeed, these American interests are so overwhelming, the costs of a greater Russia so minimal, and the strategic logic so straightforward, we should ask ourselves why this is not already America’s stated policy. The answer may be



# Arts & Letters

## FILM

[Yes]

### Film in Rhyme? Yes, It's Time

By Steve Sailer

MOLIÈRE'S BOURGEOIS GENTLEMAN was famously delighted to learn he had been speaking prose all his life. Yet as historian Jacques Barzun noted in *From Dawn to Decadence*, "His surprise is well-founded ... What he spoke all his life was *not* prose, but speech. Prose is the written form of deliberate expression ... It is as artificial as verse."

Nor should a modern gentleman assume he is speaking "dialogue," because what screenwriters are paid large sums to contrive is barely more authentic than quatrains would be. I recall a 1994 radio interview with Steve Barancik, the painfully shy writer of the snazzy film noir "Last Seduction," which starred Linda Fiorentino as the ultimate femme fatale. The perky interviewer asked him if he comes up with all those killer replies in real life. "Well, sure," the author stammered, "In my car ... on the ... way home."

Cinema's visuals are constantly evolving, but its dialogue is deteriorating. Why write eloquent English when it's just going to wind up translated into Turkish and Tagalog to serve as wadding between detonations?

It's time for something different, and Sally Potter's film "Yes" is a gloriously reactionary step backwards.

Shortly after 9/11, Potter, who is best known for her 1992 adaptation of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*, began composing a scene illustrating the clash of civilizations between an Arab immigrant and a wealthy Western woman. She recalled, "The argument between the two lovers came out onto the page, for the most part, in iambic pentameter (ten syllables per line) ... Perhaps it was an instinctive attempt to let the characters speak to each other on screen about things which are hard to express in normal conversation."

The screenplay ended up as rhyme of the most conspicuous kind: couplets. The expert actors in "Yes"—led by three-time Oscar-nominee Joan Allen, the tall, severely blonde actress from Chicago's famed Steppenwolf Theatre Company—play it like Shakespearean blank verse, pausing at the end of sentences rather than at the end of lines, but the constant rhyming won't let us forget it's verse.

Because it's poetry, the dialogue cannot even pretend to be realistic. This frees the characters to articulate impossibly literary lines that don't sound any more implausible than their most banal statements.

Many will hate "Yes," but I found it delightful, reminiscent of the pleasures of a musical. I hope Potter makes another verse film, allowing her actors to stress the rhymes. This movie's high point comes when Potter permits Sheila Hancock, who plays Allen's dying Communist aunt, to read her witty voice-over monologue as heroic couplets, blending Alexander Pope with Dr. Seuss: "Oh, you'll be sorry when I'm dead / I'm only joking, dear. I only said / That for a laugh. Although of course it's true."

In prose, Potter sounds like a doctrinaire leftist, but in verse she's more con-

tent to let her characters each have their say, airing issues that are more visible than discussed.

Allen—like many contemporary actresses, such as Nicole Kidman and Cate Blanchett—is extremely fair, and her character's olive-skinned Arab beau repeatedly admits that their difference in coloration both attracts and annoys him. Indeed, "Yes" and Potter's earlier "Tango Lesson" illustrate anthropologist Peter Frost's new book *Fair Women, Dark Men*, which documents that this cultural preference has been found in most societies. Apparently, this is because women actually are "the fair sex," being slightly paler on average.

The man, a surgeon from shattered Beirut who can only find work as a chef in London, eventually realizes that his Muslim masculine pride can no longer tolerate being an invisible man. He demands of his mistress, a celebrated American embryologist, "From Elvis to Eminem, Warhol's art; / I know your stories, know your songs by heart. / But do you know mine?"

No, and like the rest of us, Potter's heroine isn't going to try to learn. Rather than offer to accompany her homesick lover back to Beirut for a visit, she demands he come with her to Havana, of all places, where she plans to bask in nostalgia for her late aunt's radicalism. I'm not sure Potter realizes what an awful person her adulterous heroine is.

Ironically, Cuba turns out, due to Castro's stultifying tyranny, to look like a well-preserved slice of the Eisenhower era, full of '57 Chevys and Hemingway-worshipers. Potter doesn't quite get the joke, but at least her artistic daring makes up for her tedious politics. ■

Rated R for language and some sexual content.

## BOOKS

[*Black Rednecks and White Liberals*, Thomas Sowell, Encounter Books, 372 pages]

## Don't Blame the Rednecks

By David Gordon

THOMAS SOWELL has throughout his long career manifested a rare ability to challenge leftist dogma with inconvenient facts. Blinded by false views of the past, self-certified do-gooders worsen the problems they endeavor to ameliorate. "Nowhere," Sowell tells us, "has history been more in thrall to belief systems—visions—than in the history of racial and ethnic groups. Too often the past has been twisted to fit the visions and the agendas of the present." One such agenda especially concerns him. "Much of the history written about minority groups has in fact been a history of how others have treated these groups, more than a history of these groups themselves."

Sowell's battle against false visions appears in part to be motivated by an urgent practical concern about American blacks, although *Black Rednecks and White Liberals* ranges widely over other ethnic groups as well. Liberals see blacks in the United States a victims of the "legacy of slavery" and discrimination. If blacks fare less well than whites in education, income, and employment, the fault lies with the majority group. It is whites, not blacks, who must act, by massively increased welfare programs and affirmative-action schemes.

For Sowell, the fate of blacks lies principally in their own hands, through scholastic achievement and hard work. In taking this stance, he confronts head-on an entrenched dogma. Do not the educational problems of blacks stem

from the evils of segregation, only recently and imperfectly overcome? Our author dissents:

Despite the Supreme Court's pronouncement in the historic 1954 case of *Brown v. Board of Education* that racially separate schools 'are inherently unequal,' there have been many predominantly or wholly minority schools whose test score were at or above the national average. The average IQ at Dunbar High School was 111 in 1939 and again in 1950. Ironically, Dunbar was within walking distance of the Supreme Court which in effect declared its existence impossible.

Sowell does not write as an advocate of segregation—far from it. His point, rather, is that Dunbar was not unique. Many black schools and colleges have achieved a high level of excellence through their own efforts. "Why this ignoring or dismissing of examples of black educational success? Sometimes the reason is ideological." Successful all-black schools raise uncomfortable issues. "To say that mixing and matching racial groups is not a prerequisite for quality education would call into question the decades-long school busing struggle, which might then been seen in retrospect as a costly and divisive wild goose chase, and questions might be raised about the current mantra of 'diversity.'"

To this, one might object that from the fact that some black schools have by their own efforts been successful, it hardly follows that all or most can. True enough; but Sowell can with justice respond that we have at least some reason to hope for good results. He enlists in support of his thesis a surprising witness. "Even Arthur Jensen, the leading proponent of the theory of genetic racial differences in IQ, has said that among 'the disadvantaged' there are 'high school students who have failed to learn basic skills that they could have learned many years earlier' if taught in different ways."

Unfortunately, Sowell's common-sense approach is controversial in our topsy-turvy world. Sowell does not conceal his indignation with those who advocate "authentic" black culture. In this view, anyone who abandons the practices common in the black ghetto is condemned as surrendering to white values. Among these inauthentic values is academic study, and young blacks face "the overhanging threat of being accused of 'acting white' if they devote themselves to their studies, instead of to various social activities in which other black students indulge."

Sowell's laudable desire to combat the excesses of authenticity leads him in one respect to overreach. Would he not have a formidable weapon against his opponents if it transpired that the "authentic" black culture he condemns was itself not genuinely black? He yields to temptation: black ghetto culture derives from the Southern redneck form of life.

More is involved here than a mere parallel between blacks and Southern whites. What is involved is a common subculture that goes back for centuries, which has encompassed everything from ways of talking to attitudes toward education, violence, and sex—and which originated not in the South, but in those parts of the British Isles from which white Southerners came.

Those who spurn education as "white" are unconsciously echoing the prejudices that Southern rednecks imbibed from their Scottish and borderlands ancestors.

Sowell has next to nothing to say about the rednecks' attitudes towards education. He includes a mention of "neglect of education" on a list of cultural traits "prevalent among Southern whites"; a footnote refers to several authors but offers little discussion. To point out, as he does, that 20 percent of Southern whites were illiterate according to the census of 1850, is to invite the obvious query, what about the 80 percent who were not?

The whole farfetched construction rests on a historical mistake. To our author, Scotland before the 18th-century Enlightenment was a cultural backwater: "The people were illiterate and there was no law and order, except for the arbitrary edicts of local clan chiefs." Not until the 18th-century did matters change, and by then the ancestors of Southern whites had for the most part left Scotland. Given this view of Scotland, and Sowell's view that Southern whites continued the practices of their illiterate ancestors, one can readily see how he has arrived at his negative judgment about Southern education.

Sowell takes no account of the facts that three Scottish universities were founded in the 15th century and two more in the 16th. The theologian John Mair had a European reputation; and, at an earlier period, Duns Scotus was one of the foremost philosophers of the Middle Ages. (Alexander Broadie's *Shadow of Scotus* is an excellent discussion of pre-Reformation Scottish philosophy by a leading authority.) Of course, it does not follow that the ancestors of Southern whites were university graduates; no doubt few of them were. The point rather is that it cannot simply be assumed, as Sowell does, that anyone coming from Scotland during the colonial period was an illiterate boor.

British history, one regrets to say, does not appear to be Sowell's strong point. His assertion that Charles II "found it prudent to sneak out in the middle of the night, cross the channel to France, and never return to the British Isles" can be forgiven as a mere slip for James II, although the statement is not entirely right about him either; but it is odd to describe the execution of Charles I as a triumph of the rule of law.

Among the traits that blacks are alleged to have taken from rednecks is sexual promiscuity, but here his own evidence contradicts his thesis. When he is not preoccupied with blaming white Southerners, Sowell tells us that until the onset of modern welfare legislation

in the 1960s, blacks had high rates of marriage and comparatively few illegitimate births. "Nowhere was the effect of white liberalism of the 1960s on the social evolution of black culture more devastating than in the disintegration of the black family ... while two thirds of black children were living with both parents in 1960, only one-third were by 1994." It is hardly adequate to say that welfare policies allowed redneck patterns to "continue and flourish" if the data fail to show that these alleged patterns were present at the inception of the welfare measures.

Sowell is on much firmer ground when he sticks to economics. In a helpful discussion of anti-Semitism, he points out that minority groups that specialize as middlemen between producers and consumers often arouse resentment. People find it hard to realize that those who transport goods or offer them for sale perform useful services. Instead, middlemen are all too often viewed as bloodsuckers who raise prices and impoverish the weak for their selfish gain. Often the enraged majority assaults or kills their alleged exploiters.

Resort to elementary economics suffices to refute the fallacy that underlies condemnation of middlemen as parasitic. But enraged mobs are not known for their interest in logic, and middlemen have suffered the consequences. "Suspensions are readily aroused against an occupation where an income is generated, in Friedrich Hayek's words, 'out of nothing,' without physical creation and by merely rearranging what exists, an operation that to the uninitiated seems to 'stink of sorcery.'"

Although Jews "have historically been the classic middleman minority," they are merely one of a long list of other such groups, including overseas Chinese, Lebanese, Parsees, Gujaratis, and Armenians. Sowell's apt historical analogies enable us to fit anti-Semitism into a common pattern of explanation.

Sowell does not claim that his account fully explains Nazi policy toward Jews, but he forcefully and

effectively refutes the view that an especially virulent historical German hatred of Jews lay behind Hitler's policies. Quite the contrary, the "history of pre-Hitler Germans, whether at home or abroad, can readily stand comparison with that of most Europeans, just as the record of Europeans can stand comparison with that of most other races around the world." So far as attitudes toward Jews are concerned, the German record was not extreme: "In elections held from 1871 through 1928, German political parties explicitly devoted to anti-Jewish principles reached a high of 7 percent of the vote and a low below one percent."

Sowell's readers will gain much from this notable book, all the more so if they ignore what is said about "black rednecks." ■

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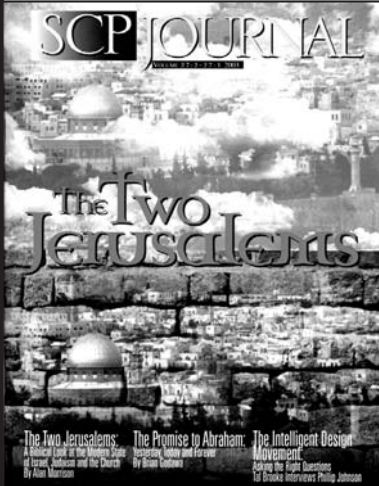
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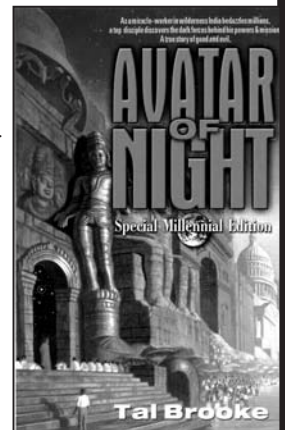
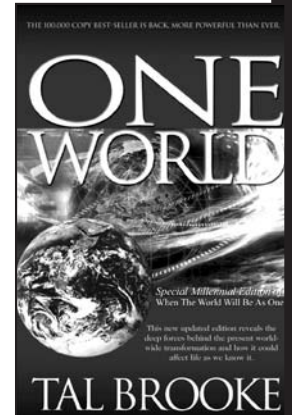
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[*Wodehouse: A Life*, Robert McCrum, W.W. Norton and Company, 530 pages]

[*Snoobs*, Julian Fellowes, St. Martin's Press, 272 pages]

## One Plum Biography

By Kelly Jane Torrance

THE ANGLOSPHERE is supposed to be the epitome of the egalitarian society. America, our schoolbooks tell us, was founded on the principle that everyone is born equal. The culturally omnipresent American Dream presupposes that anyone can rise from any class and do just about anything. Even the English have been steadily abolishing class; reforming the House of Lords was one of Tony Blair's first pet projects.

So why is P.G. Wodehouse, a quintessentially Edwardian writer, so popular? The modern age is completely unknown in his work. He wrote about the leisure class and their valets and butlers, about maiden aunts and prize pigs, and about hangovers and how to get rid of them.

That last one will never go out of style. But Wodehouse's language, never more Wodehousian than when he is discussing drink, is that not of another country, but of another world. Robert McCrum collects much of his best vocabulary in a new biography of the man known as "Plum":

The Drones' terms for hangover include 'the Broken Compass, the Sewing Machine, the Comet, the Atomic, the Cement Mixer and the Gremlin Boogie' and their lexicon of euphemisms for 'inebriated' includes: 'awash,' 'boiled,' 'fried to the tonsils,' 'full to the back teeth,' 'hooched,' 'illuminated' or 'lit up,' 'lathered,' 'off colour,' 'oiled,' 'ossified,' 'pie-eyed,' 'polluted,' 'primed,' 'scrooched,' 'squiffy,' 'stewed to the

gills,' 'stinko,' 'tanked,' 'tight as an owl,' 'under the sauce,' 'whiffled' and 'woozled.'

*Wodehouse: A Life* is one piece of evidence for Wodehouse's enduring popularity, a new entry in a somewhat crowded field. Another is the fact that most of his books, numbering over a hundred, are still in print. He is even publishing new novels—or so it seems with the spate of very Wodehouse-like fiction released lately. Every year that passes seems to prove Evelyn Waugh correct when he declared, "Mr. Wodehouse's world can never stale. He will continue to release future generations from captivity that may be more irksome than our own."

The man that Waugh called "the Master" was born Pelham Grenville in 1881 to a colonial civil servant and his wife. "In total, Wodehouse saw his parents for barely six months between the ages of three and fifteen, which is by any standard a shattering emotional deprivation," McCrum writes. But though the biographer detects misogyny in the novels, which he attributes to a cold mother (in one of a few instances of sexual psychologizing), Wodehouse seems to have spent his early years contented.

Many Englishmen, Orwell among them, hated public school. But Wodehouse fell in love with his, keeping up with the school cricket team even as an old man. His first writing was on school life and such topics as the "absence of vanilla chocolate in the Dulwich buttery."

Indeed, McCrum gives the impression that the adult Wodehouse was no more than the child Wodehouse with more talent. He and his wife, Ethel, for example, kept separate bedrooms throughout their long but childless marriage. Nowhere is this tale of arrested development more obvious than in what McCrum considers the most important event of Wodehouse's life, his broadcasts during the Second World War.

Notwithstanding Wodehouse's astonishingly prolific career—besides the scores of books, he wrote hundreds of

songs for Broadway—McCrums spends more time (over a hundred pages) on this one episode of his life than any other. It even opens the book.

The Wodehouses were living on the coast of France when war broke out. Plum, unable to flee in time, spent a year of the war in internment camps. When the Germans realized the celebrity of their captive, they freed him and asked if he would like to reach his American readers through radio broadcasts. Wodehouse jumped at the opportunity—without pausing to consider how aiding the German propaganda machine would appear in his native Britain. His comical broadcasts making light of his experience got him accused of treachery in the House of Commons.

He was cleared upon investigation, but the wounds didn't heal. He never returned to Britain, instead settling in the U.S. after the war. McCrum concludes that Wodehouse meant no ill by the broadcasts; he was merely too naïve to understand the implications of his actions: "Jeevesian in his professional life, it was his fate to be Woosterish in Berlin."

McCrums spends too much time on Wodehouse's wartime disgrace, which fails to give us much insight into Wodehouse the author. McCrum can beat a dead horse in other ways, too. Wodehouse was a fanatical worker with a single-minded intensity of purpose. But as soon as he finished a new project, particularly a novel, he felt fallow and finished. I have just described that fact in under 20 words, but McCrum feels obliged to mention it after describing the completion of every major novel. Yet he can't explain why Wodehouse was so incredibly ambitious, never turning down a commission. Plum did almost nothing but work, pausing to play cricket now and then.

Where McCrum does succeed is in putting his finger on the two reasons Wodehouse found, and continues to find, such great popularity not just in his native Britain, but here and around the world.

The first is Wodehouse's voice, as distinctive as Shakespeare's. The second is

Wodehouse's world, which is completely unlike our own. As McCrum understands, "Wodehouse still promises a release from everyday cares into a paradise of innocent comic mayhem, narrated in a prose so light and airy, and so perfectly pitched, that the perusal of a few pages rarely fails to banish the demons of darkness, sickness and despair."

The age in which Wodehouse found himself, the aftermath of the First World War, was particularly open to his talents: "In this gloomy, neurotic atmosphere, Wodehouse's light-hearted country-house comedies were both a tonic for bereaved and depressed survivors, and a kind of lunatic elegy for a lost world."

But doesn't this describe our world just as well as that of Edwardian England? From the Depression to the Cold War to 9/11, it is difficult not to see the last century as one long nightmare of evil. Wodehouse thus remains a tonic. As he put it so well in *Something Fresh*: "Other people worried about all sorts of things—strikes, wars, suffragettes, diminishing birth-rates, the growing materialism of the age, and a score of similar subjects. Worrying,

for a private detective in the Yellow Pages and stumbling across Philip Marlowe!"

Alan Blair, a washed-up writer at the age of 30, published his first book at 23 and is trying, not very hard, to write his second. He was inspired to hire a valet after reading 43 Wodehouse novels to stave off depression. (Ames gets Wodehouse's appeal.) He can afford the servant because of the very modern American windfall of a \$250,000 settlement from slipping on some ice. Blair's Jewishness allows Ames to ape Wodehouse with an American twist. "My uncle was a firearms expert and the house was equipped with a small arsenal," Blair informs us. "He was ready for another Kristallnacht or a siege by the FBI if there was a repeal of the Second Amendment."

Ames's idea is entertaining—who wouldn't want to hire one's very own Jeeves, literally? But he often gives the impression of trying just a little too hard.

*Snobs*, the latest addition to the Wodehousian pantheon, follows the master not in style but in substance. Written by Julian Fellowes, the Oscar-

managed to trap Charles. But this is only the beginning of *Snobs*. The real story is about a woman who marries for status becoming bored of the life she has chosen.

*Snobs* doesn't feature a valet. But it is more illustrative than Ames's novel of how the push towards a classless society has failed. "The English, of all classes as it happens, are addicted to exclusivity," Fellowes writes. "Leave three Englishmen in a room and they will invent a rule that prevents a fourth joining them." And Americans, for their part, have always been drawn to stories about the exclusive.

But the British are different from Americans, particularly those at the top. "The upper classes are not, as a whole, a complaining lot," Fellowes remarks. "As a group they would generally rather not 'go on about it.' A brisk walk and a stiff drink are their chosen methods of recovery whether struck in the heart or the wallet."

No wonder Edwardian-influenced fiction is so popular; it makes a refreshing change from victim-obsessed modern America. Wodehouse's "stiff upper lip" is still in style. For Wodehouse and Fellowes alike, aristocrats don't sit around complaining about their problems (or writing novels about them). They do something about them, whether it's putting into play an elaborate plot concocted by Jeeves or hatching scheme after scheme to see one's estranged husband when his devious mother won't allow it.

*Snobs* is full of insights that make the book more than just a high-class guilty pleasure. The narrator, an actor with links to the aristocracy, is clearly the author's alter ego, and Fellowes is in a unique position to understand how celebrity has complemented and even replaced the aristocracy. Celebrity is a club that may not be entirely hereditary, but it sure seems like it—one can only be born looking like Gisele. And as millions of people the world over want to read about lords and their butlers, so too do millions want to read about actresses and their stylists.

NO WONDER **EDWARDIAN-INFLUENCED FICTION** IS SO POPULAR; IT MAKES  
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WODEHOUSE'S **"STIFF UPPER LIP"** IS STILL IN STYLE.

indeed, seemed to be the twentieth's century's speciality. Lord Emsworth never worried."

Two novels released in the past year showcase the contemporary appeal of Wodehouse's sensibility and, though in very different ways, pay homage to Plum. The more direct tribute is Jonathan Ames's *Wake Up, Sir!* The novel even features a valet named Jeeves. At least Ames mocks himself for such obvious imitation. "I mean, who ever heard of a valet actually named Jeeves?" the narrator asks. "That's outrageous! That's like looking

winning screenwriter of Robert Altman's British period mystery "Gosford Park," *Snobs* is not in the language of Wodehouse; Fellowes's is a chatty, neighborly voice. But the world is similar—*Snobs* tells the story of an engagement and marriage in an aristocratic English family.

The plot reads something like an Edith Wharton novel. Edith Lavery is determined to marry up. So it is quite fortunate when Charles, the Earl Broughton, falls in love with the beautiful blonde daughter of an accountant. A typical novel might follow the tale of how Edith



Wodehouse, like many other writers of his period, tried his luck in Hollywood. And like many of them—F. Scott Fitzgerald, for example—he wasn't successful. But if he were around today, perhaps he would use Hollywood to create a different world from the Edwardian one he was still writing about into the 1970s. Of course, Wodehouse was nothing if not nostalgic.

But then, so is Fellowes. The aristocratic upper classes are on their last legs, replaced by a new breed of celebrity famous for being famous (Paris Hilton, anyone?). But Fellowes writes as lovingly of them as Wodehouse did of his Edwardians. Fellowes's nostalgia is tinged with a dose of modernism and realism, but it's still nostalgia.

Taking aristocrats as their subjects allows both authors to write stories about things other than, say, the rat race. Wodehouse and Fellowes both champion the idea that what is of consequence is human connection, not the mundane or not-so-mundane worries that pollute our everyday life. Countless readers, like Ames's Blair, have turned to Wodehouse when the cares of the world are too much for them. Wodehouse always puts life into perspective. His ridiculousness shows us how ridiculous our world really is.

At a time when social snobbery and social licentiousness are both in vogue, it is refreshing to find a book that lightly condemns both. Like much of Wodehouse's work, *Snobs* celebrates a kind of bourgeois morality that has all but vanished. Fellowes's plot is Whartonian, but its principles are Wodehousian. We pine not just for the aristocrats' servants but for their sense of decorum and personal responsibility, to which even Bertie Wooster is subject. It is no surprise that Fellowes's next screenwriting credit is "Piccadilly Jim," based on the Wodehouse novel. ■

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## MUSIC

# Jazz Meets Pop Plays Classical

By Mark Gauvreau Judge

ROGER KIMBALL must not be happy. In the last few years, more and more walls separating musical genres—jazz, classical, and pop—have crumbled. Jazz artists cover classical and pop songs. Pop singers write operas. And one of the world's most famous opera stars is singing Stevie Wonder. It's a development that shows no signs of slowing down and before the end may save jazz and classical music from oblivion while giving pop music the props it deserves as true art.

The genre-hopping has been breaking out all over with a gusto that would have seemed striking not 10 years ago. A classical pianist, Christopher O'Riley, does two entire albums covering the songs of the rock band Radiohead. Rufus Wainwright, a gay pop musician, writes a song—"Agnus Dei"—that sounds not unlike monastic chant. Paul McCartney writes an opera and one of its passages is covered by opera star Kiri Te Kanawa. Jazz violinist Regina Carter does an album, *Paganini: After a Dream*, that boasts originals, classical bits, a movie theme, and traditional French and Italian songs.

It is a thrilling development. More and more classical and jazz musicians are realizing that there is genuine beauty and art in the popular songs of the rock-and-roll era, even as pop performers stretch their forms to achieve the grandeur of classical. It's a win-win situation: pop music offers enervated forms like jazz and classical a shot at new life, while the traditional genres offer pop music a chance at greater heights of beauty and the reinterpretation reserved for the great American songbook.

Who could reject such an exciting development? Roger Kimball, for one. Kimball—one of my favorite writers—as it turns out warned against this kind of blending. Yet his argument, like that of many of my friends on the Right, is weak. The best rock and roll, like it or not, is art—a vibrant, compelling, and entirely fresh art. It's also an art that doesn't lie. Conservatives like Kimball (and me) often talk about the natural law, the idea that God put in our hearts and minds the ability to discern, to a certain extent, what is objectively good, moral, and beautiful and what is not. Beethoven's Fifth Symphony is objectively great, period. Ditto Maria Callas, Mozart, Caruso, and Bach.

Yet this sixth sense, Kimball implies, is not to be trusted when it ignites at the sound of the Beatles, Radiohead, B.B. King, U2, or John Coltrane. Why? In his book about the 1960s, *The Long March*, Kimball is not clear. He derides critic Richard Poirier, who in 1967 wrote that the Beatles "are like Monteverdi and sometimes their songs are even better than Schumann's." Kimball scoffs at that, then offers this salvo:

Unfortunately, the more popular culture has been raised up—the more vigorously it has been championed by the cultural elite—the lower popular culture has sunk. In comparison with the pop music of today, The Beatles almost do seem like Monteverdi. Almost. At the same time, though—and this is one of the most insidious aspects of the whole process—the integrity of high culture itself has been severely compromised by the mindless elevation of pop culture. The academic enfranchisement of popular culture has meant not only that trash has been mistaken for great art, but also that great art has been treated as if it were trash. When Allen Ginsberg (for example) is upheld in the classroom as a 'great poet' comparable to Shakespeare, the very idea of



greatness is rendered unintelligible and high art ceases to function as an ideal.

Yet a living example of the Kimball dictum was raised—and shattered—in 2001. That year the jazz violinist Regina Carter was at a party when the host played one of her CDs. The Italian composer and theater director Andrea Liberovici was there and found himself so moved by Carter's playing that he had an idea: Carter would travel to Genoa, Italy and play a jazz concert using a violin that had belonged to Nicolo Paganini, the great baroque violinist.

The reaction among music snobs in Italy was immediate. Paganini's violin is referred to as "the Cannon." It has a police escort and is insured for millions. As Carter recalled, "many people had to be convinced that playing jazz on 'The Cannon' would not debase the instrument's artistic legacy or hurt its physical well-being." At the time, I couldn't help but notice a funny and perhaps profound irony. In the early 1930s, Ella Fitzgerald, like Carter an African-American jazz musician, performed a song called "Mr. Paganini." In it she implores Paganini to "play a rhapsody," but only

"if you swing it." Almost 70 years later, people were terrified that Carter would do just that.

Finally, the authorities relented, and Carter put on her concert. She received two standing ovations. After all the ulcers and hand-wringing, it turned out to be nothing more than just music. This

folks." Music that, when coming from a genius like Stevie Wonder, is as objectively good—if aesthetically different—as Mozart.

Luckily, some of this stuff is so good—Fleming's "My Cherie Amour" is breathtaking—there's probably no going back. The great jazz saxophonist Joe

**CONTRA** ROGER KIMBALL, THE **FRESHEST, MOST MOVING AND VIBRANT** MUSIC OF THE LAST 40 YEARS HAS BEEN, YES, **POP MUSIC**. JAZZ AND CLASSICAL MUSICIANS ARE **WISE TO TAP INTO ITS ENERGY**.

was forcefully reiterated recently, when the opera singer Renee Fleming released her new album *Haunted Heart*. It's a mix of classical pieces, romantic songs, and, yes, pop—Fleming covers the Beatles' "In My Life" and Stevie Wonder's "My Cherie Amour."

On Amazon.com a few reviewers got the vapors trying to tie down the exact genre and trembled over the fact that Fleming had lowered her voice an octave to sing Lennon and McCartney. Finally, a reviewer exploded—but not at Fleming. Uttering a religious blasphemy, he told readers to sit back, stop thinking, and enjoy: "it's just music,

Lovano recently did an album in tribute to Caruso. One-time new-wave rocker Elvis Costello wrote an opera, "Il Sogno."

Yet perhaps more exciting is the acknowledgement from the classical and jazz fields, and *contra* Roger Kimball, that the freshest, most moving and vibrant music of the last 40 years has been, yes, pop music. Jazz and classical musicians are wise to tap into its energy, as much of its canon has reached the point where it is simply played out. I don't think I could ever listen to a song like "I've Got You Under My Skin" with anything other than boredom, even if it were sung by an artist as great as the jazz singer Cassandra Wilson. Wilson, no dummy, seems to realize this, which is why she has done covers—compelling, wonderful covers—of songs by Van Morrison, U2, even the Monkees. Indeed, more and more it seems that the marriage of jazz player and singer Diana Krall to Elvis Costello is powerfully symbolic. Pop and rock music have at long last been welcomed into the rich family that lives on the right side of the tracks. It's an honor the music deserves. ■

*Mark Gauvreau Judge is the author of God and Man at Georgetown Prep: How I Became a Catholic Despite 20 Years of Catholic Schooling and Damn Senators: My Grandfather and the Story of Washington's Only World Series Championship.*

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# Audit Africa



What do pop stars and politicians have in common? That's an easy one. Too easy, in fact. They are performers and narcissists by nature and love

publicity as much as Paris Hilton—and then some. African poverty is to them what the sex video was to Paris, a publicity stunt too huge to resist.

Bob Geldof, surprisingly a very nice if terribly foul-mouthed man (he's not too big on showering, either), is leading marchers on Edinburgh next month, where the G8 summit is taking place. That's all fine and good, except he's leading them to the wrong city and the wrong continent. The motley ones should be marching on Harare, Nairobi, and other places in darkest Africa where corrupt politicians spend American and European aid on arms rather than food, medicine, and education.

The Live 8 concert will provide the fizz. The rest will be taken care of by the media, never disappointing where shallowness and frivolity are concerned. Now, don't get me wrong. I know Bob Geldof, and he means well. Being lectured about our responsibility towards Africa by him was a novelty 20 years ago when he fronted the Live Aid charity concert. Now it looks like a cheap stunt, which it is not—at least where Geldof is concerned. But I find others like Sting and Bono self-aggrandizing and naïve. Abolishing poverty, according to them, is merely a matter of persuading world leaders to act generously in forgiving African debt and providing new aid. Nothing could be more wrong.

Canceling the poor countries' debts may sound noble, but we went through that in the 1990s, and it made absolutely no difference. And debt has not exactly piled up because of usurious interest rates, either. Forty years to repay at zero interest sounds too good to be true to

the rest of us, but that's what those so-called African leaders have been getting. Where has the moolah gone? That's an even easier question to answer. To Swiss bank accounts, armaments, handouts to political friends, private jets, mansions, brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, friends. You name it, the African dictators have spent it.

Tony Blair, the British version of Bill Clinton, is spreading the fantasy that poverty can be eradicated if world leaders act generously in forgiving African debt and providing new aid. Blair does not believe this for a second, but he must come up with something credible after years of wasted leadership. The fact that aid cannot build a stable society in which native industries can flourish and export

No cigar for anyone who guesses whose pocket the four bil ended up in.

The big question is why Africa alone among the continents is poorer per capita now than 20 or 40 years ago. Most likely because of aid. Here's how it works. It is illegal in most African states to start a business without a license. And licenses are granted or sold to those with government connections. The aid that is given to African countries to enable them to escape from the poverty trap sustains thugs like Mugabe, Abacha, and Taylor and enables them to become seriously rich.

There is no chance that \$25 billion per annum aid for the next 25 years will make the slightest difference. As long as individual Africans cannot obtain a loan at a reasonable rate of interest, they cannot have a good title to their land and thus have no collateral to offer to the centrally owned banks. It is a vicious circle that keeps the thugs in power and

**THE BIG QUESTION IS WHY AFRICA ALONE AMONG THE CONTINENTS IS POORER PER CAPITA NOW THAN 20 OR 40 YEARS AGO. MOST LIKELY BECAUSE OF AID.**

seems to have escaped the pols. But of course it has not. Politicians live for the sound bite and to hell with the truth. Blair is just a most egregious example.

Mind you, where does that leave countries that have conscientiously paid their debts? What Blair and Geldof are asking is for us to reward profligacy, misrule, and corruption. Ten years ago, Uganda's debt was totally written off. After some auditors were imposed on him, President Museveni got rid of them and two months later paid \$30 million for a private jet. Now that's what I call acting like an African president! Angola, however, outdid Uganda. Angola owed \$10 billion, four of which went somehow missing.

the poor getting poorer. We know it, they know it, everybody knows it, yet Blair and Geldof and Bono and Sting lecture us on giving more and more while the African poor get less and less.

Unless an independent audit oversight board is imposed on every African country that receives aid—something that will never be accepted by so-called proud African leaders—we should not give a penny. Only we, the West, can ensure that the money goes not for arms but to health and education, but no African head will accept that. The ball should be in their court, and if we stopped paying, believe me, they'd soon start playing. ■

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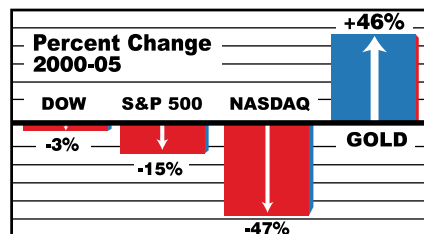
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